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CONTINUATION
OF THE COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.



L O N D O N :

Printed for RICHARD BALDWIN, at the Rose in Paternoster-Row.

M D C C L X V.

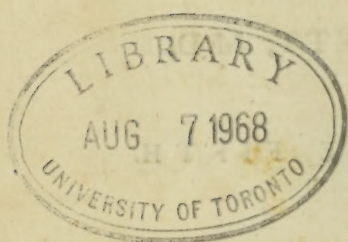
CONTINUATION

OF THE

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

TO give materials their due use and arrangement, is the chief property that distinguishes History from Compilation; and no period, perhaps, ever required a forming hand more than that which is contained in the following volume. We will venture to say that, from the events it describes, the system of Europe presents us with a new face; and that both the military and civil genius of Great Britain have assumed appearances different from those they formerly wore, in their most glorious periods.

The fourth volume of this Continuation ended when the American and East Indian power of France were next to annihilated; and when, by the operation of the famous Family Compact amongst the different branches of the House of Bourbon, we were upon the eve of a war with Spain. The Publick has not forgot the dangers, difficulties, and losses to this nation, attending the war with the same people, which was so lamely terminated by the peace of Aix la Chapelle,

after a continuance of almost ten years. The late Spanish war, though it lasted scarcely the tenth part of that time, had more important objects, and was more decisive in its events ; but we will venture to say, that no account of it has hitherto appeared, from whence a reader can form an adequate idea of its plan and purposes, which were more extensive, more truly national, and more rapidly executed than any that Great Britain was ever engaged in.—The operations of a few months cut asunder the sinews of Spanish power, and protected Portugal, the only country where Spain and France could have attacked us with any probability of success.

The glorious consequences of this war to Great Britain, have introduced a new system of policy all over Europe. — Great Britain, alone, has encountered and defeated the once dreaded power of the House of Bourbon, and accomplished what, before the commencement of the late war, would have been thought arrogance for an Englishman even to have imagined. The power of France on the continent of Europe has been broken less by our resisting it, than by our taking no improper lead in the affairs of Germany, and
by

P R E F A C E.

by leaving the interests of that empire to be ballanced by its own constituent parts, which, when no foreign influence operates, will always preserve a proper equilibrio. France can now no longer dictate to Great Britain by land, because the latter has no object in Germany, for which she can be brought to risque her most essential concerns; and the attention which she formerly directed to the continent of Europe, is now transferred to that of America and our American possessions.

The late peace has had other great effects upon the general system of Europe. By delivering us from our continental allies, we are freed from a burthen too heavy for us, on account of the subsidies we were obliged to pay them in time of peace, and the different views they had from those of Great Britain in time of war. These are truths fully proved by the events described in the short interval on which the following pages are employed, and which produces what may be called the catastrophe, or completion of all the transactions contained in the four preceding volumes,

The reader, in the subsequent sheets (the connexion of which with that of the preceding, he

may find in the note annexed*) will see a new plan of internal as well as external policy adopted by the British government, which has been productive of great altercation, and attended with various impressions on the minds of a people, jealous to excess of their civil liberty, and greedily embracing every opportunity, whether real or delusive, which

* The inhabitants of Grenada refused to obey the summons of commodore Swanton; but he being joined by a body of troops under the command of brigadier-general Walsh, who was detached upon this service by general Monckton, they thought proper to submit without further opposition, although the island, by the nature of its situation, was capable of making a vigorous defence. It lies about fifty leagues to the south-west of Barbadoes, has a good harbour, and the soil produces sugar, indigo, and many other valuable commodities. The inhabitants enjoyed the same capitulation which had been granted to the people of Martinique; and this was extended to the Grenadillas, a number of small fruitful islands by which the other is surrounded. At the same time the English troops took

possession of the islands St. Lucie, Tobago, and St. Vincent, which the French had begun to settle, although they had been considered as neutral by the late treaties subsisting between the two nations.—While the British armament remained at Martinique, a French fleet appeared to windward of the island, and sent an officer on shore to receive intelligence. They continued cruising to windward for two days, and even approached within cannon-shot of Trinity, as if their intention had been to make a descent: but afterwards they changed their course, and bore away for the island of Dominique. Admiral Rodney being informed of their arrival on the coast of Martinique, got under sail with his squadron, and beat up to windward in quest of the enemy; but they did not wait his coming.

they

they think can tend either to enlarge or secure it. The same principle that has taken off from our necks the dead weight of continental connections, has removed the screen which they but too often placed between the king and the subject, to the irreparable loss of both.—The throne is now accessible to all ranks and orders of men; because the monarch who fills it knows he has nothing to apprehend from those distinctions which, in former times, were too artfully propagated, and too hastily believed. These are facts which have been fully explained in the preceding parts of this History.

The utmost care has been taken, in the course of this volume, to ascertain the proper boundaries between Prerogative and Privilege, and to distinguish the real acquisitions Liberty has made, from the dangerous innovations Faction would introduce. The reader has here a clear view of those improvements and advantages that are, or ought to be, the concomitants of new established peace. No argument urged in favour of any of the public parties among us, has been either suppressed, disguised, or weakened in the representation; and as national affairs, never, since the Revolution took place, have had so fair a discussion as during the present reign,

the author has endeavoured to avail himself of the several tracts that carry the greatest authority with either party; and nothing can give him more pleasure than in preserving, with the rational and sober part of his countrymen, the character of a just and dispassionate historian.

CONTI-

CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

GEORGE III.

BEFORE we relate the consequences of the new war with Spain, it will be necessary to particularize the other transactions in parliament which distinguished this session, as well as to give a detail of some domestic occurrences; and then proceed, as usual, to the operations of war on the continent of Germany. In the course of the preceding year, it had been thought proper to lay an additional duty of three shillings on every barrel of beer; and as this did not immediately take place, it made little impression on the minds of the people: but now that the brewers began to raise the price of their liquor, and the publicans in consequence resolved to demand one halfpenny extraordinary on every quart of strong beer, the cities of London and

West-

An. 1762.
Transactions in
parliament.

An. 1762. Westminster were filled with tumult. The populace vowed revenge against the brewers for exacting a higher price than usual from the victuallers; and even threatened to pull down the houses of those publicans who should charge the additional halfpenny on their beer. Under the terror of these menaces, they petitioned the house of commons for protection and relief; and a new act was passed in favour of their request. It implied that no brewer or retailer of strong beer or ale should be liable to be sued, impleaded, or molested, by indictment, information, popular action, or otherwise, for advancing the price; and that, on the other hand, they should not be allowed to mix it, on any pretence whatsoever, after the gauge of it should be taken by an officer of the excise. It may be worth observing, that all the odium of this unpopular tax fell upon the present king and his ministry, tho' it was a measure planned, regulated, and settled in the last reign: such is the preposterous caprice of a vulgar indulged in insolence and riot.

New militia act.

Another law was passed to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the several laws relating to the militia, which had been found hitherto ineffectual. By this last regulation, parish-officers are empowered, with the consent of the inhabitants, to provide volunteers for the militia, by a rate on the parish, in proportion to that for the relief of their poor. It is also provided, that no person under eighteen or above forty-five, nor articulated clerk, apprentice, or pauper with three children born in wedlock, shall be compelled to serve. By these alterations in the militia law, every man is obliged

obliged to pay his quota; all parishes have it in their power to keep their useful hands at home, and to employ the idle and dissolute in the service of their country. An. 1762.

A bill was moreover passed for vesting the property of all Spanish prizes in the captors, and for continuing during the present war with Spain, all the provisions and regulations which were made on the same subject in different acts passed in the twenty-ninth, thirty-second, and thirty-third years of the late reign. It might deserve the consideration of the legislature, whether it would not be expedient to alter the proportions in which all prize-money is at present distributed to the officers and sailors on board a ship of war. Nothing can be more absurd than the regulation by which a captain shares three-eighths of the prize, amounting to one-eighth more than is divided among the whole crew of common seamen. In consequence of this ridiculous custom, private captains are often raised by accident to the possession of overgrown fortunes, to which their merit gives them no title; and the hope of such an exorbitant share of booty renders them so eager in the pursuit of trading vessels, that they often neglect opportunities of acting more vigorously against the enemy. If the captain's share was limited to one-sixteenth, he would have a proportion sufficiently suited to his rank; another sixteenth might be added to the share of the seamen; and one-fourth of the whole prize might be employed in the service of the public.

Bill for
the regu-
lation of
prize-
money.

An. 1762.
Other
bills.

With a view to prevent in some measure certain inhuman practices relating to poor parish children within the bills of mortality, the parliament enacted a law for keeping an annual register of those infants in every parish, under the age of four, a time of life in which they were supposed to be more particularly exposed to the barbarity of their nurses, some of whom were said to be the more favoured by the overseers of the poor, the more dexterous they proved themselves in dispatching the unhappy orphans committed to their charge. The suspicion that such cruelties had been exercised, was supported by strong presumptions, which indeed gave rise to this bill in favour of public registers, which will be a considerable check upon the overseers. They will point out those parishes where the greatest mortality prevails among those hapless children, and perhaps induce the legislature to inquire into the cause of this calamity. The parish-officers, thus open to detection, will execute their office with a more conscious regard to the duties of christian humanity.

A new law was made for rendering London-bridge more accessible for the convenience of commerce; and another to facilitate a scheme for supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fresh fish by land-carriage from different parts of the kingdom. This useful scheme, conceived and digested by a private gentleman called Blake, a descendant of the celebrated admiral Blake, was patronized by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, who advanced a considerable sum towards the execution of it; and the capital was in a little
time

time supplied with great plenty and variety of excellent fish, by the industry and ingenuity of the projector. He had no other view but that of rescuing the people from the tyranny of a few individuals, who had long monopolized the market, and kept up the commodity at exorbitant rates: but whether a scheme founded on public utility, openly executed, and honestly pursued, will be able to maintain its ground against a powerful combination of wealthy individuals, who will not scruple to expend large sums to effect its miscarriage, time alone will discover*.

A new act passed for the better lighting and paving the streets of Westminster, which were neither very safe nor commodious.

By another, the king was enabled to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign protestants who had settled in America, and been very useful to the service in raising and disciplining soldiers on that continent. As a reward for their fidelity, and a further encouragement to protestant adventurers, it was now enacted that all foreigners of this

Bill for naturalizing foreign officers.

* By a new law for the preservation of the game, it was decreed, that after the first day of June next ensuing, no partridge, pheasant, heath-fowl, or grouse, should be killed, taken, or sold, any year, between the twelfth day of February and first of September, for partridges; between the first of February and the first of October,

for pheasants; between the first of January and the twentieth of August, for heath-fowl, commonly called black-game; and between the first of December and the twenty-fifth day of July, for the grouse, commonly called the red-game. — The person offending against this law to forfeit five pounds for every bird, to the prosecutor.

An.1762. religion, as well officers as soldiers, who had served, or should hereafter serve, in the Royal American regiment, or as engineers in America, for the space of two years, taking and subscribing the oaths, should be deemed natural-born subjects of Great-Britain to all intents and purposes; except that no person naturalized by this act, should be held capable of being a member of the privy council, or either house of parliament, or of enjoying any office or place of trust within the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, either civil or military; or any grant from the crown to himself, or to any other in trust for him, of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the said kingdoms. Neither does the benefit of this act extend to children born out of the king's allegiance, whose fathers, at the birth of such children, were liable to the penalties of high-treason or felony, or in the service of any foreign power at war with Great Britain, excepting still the children of those who quitted Ireland in pursuance of the capitulation of Limerick. Yet even this Jewish law of visiting the iniquities of the fathers on the children, which had passed in the fourth year of the late reign, had been mitigated by another clause in the same act, importing, That the privileges of naturalization should, notwithstanding, be enjoyed by every child thus disqualified, who should make it appear that he had resided two years in any part of the British dominions, between the sixteenth day of November in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight, and the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-

one, and had professed the protestant religion, and died in Great-Britain or the dominions thereof, within the said term; or had possessed any lands, or made any settlement in Great Britain or Ireland. The practice of naturalizing foreign protestants is certainly, at this juncture, highly expedient for the benefit of Great-Britain and her colonies; now, when the mother-country is so depopulated by war and migration, that there is not a sufficient number of hands left for the purposes of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce; and when the nation has made the acquisition of rich islands, and an immense continent, whose value must always depend upon their population.

A new law was made for securing the additional salaries to the puisne judges, whom the king had rendered independent, in the course of the preceding session.

The mutiny bill was passed as an annual regulation; and the parliament enacted an explanatory law for a further encouragement to those who should make any progress towards the discovery of a certain method for finding out the longitude at sea, that great desideratum in the art of navigation. Mr. Harrison, a clock-maker of London, had contrived a curious time-piece, which, under the direction of his son, was tried in a voyage to the West-Indies, and found to succeed in all experiments infinitely beyond any thing which had been hitherto invented on the same subject. Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, had also contrived a marine chair, by means of which it was found practicable, in the roughest weather at sea, to take observations of

Touching
the lon-
gitude at
sea.

An. 1762. of the immersions and emersions of Jupiter's satellites, from which the longitude may be ascertained. This machine had been found successful upon trial; and now a board of longitude was held at the Admiralty, to consider the merit of those improvements, in consequence of the act lately passed. Mr. Harrison and his son were gratified with a reward of fifteen hundred pounds; and five hundred were bestowed upon Mr. Irwin. Many methods were, at this time, proposed for finding the longitude at sea, and some of them appeared to be extremely ingenious: but as none of them had been reduced to practice by actual experiment, the claims and pretensions of their several authors were neglected or overlooked*.

The business of the session being ended, the king concluded it with a speech, as usual, on the second day of June, when both houses were prorogued.

Transac-
tions of
the Irish
parlia-
ment.

There was nothing remarkable that distinguished this session in the parliament of Ireland, except a remarkable resolution in favour of their lord-lieutenant the earl of Halifax, whose conduct they intirely approved, and whose character they held in the utmost veneration. They unanimously resolved on an address to his excellency, desiring he would represent to the king the sense of the house, that the appointments of the lord-lieutenant were be-

* By a bill passed in this session, an annuity of three thousand pounds was settled and secured for the use of

Arthur Onslow, Esq; late speaker of the house of commons.

come inadequate to the dignity of that office: they therefore humbly desired that his majesty would be pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainment of the lord-lieutenant for the time being, as should raise the whole to the annual sum of sixteen thousand pounds. At the same time they expressed their satisfaction at the pleasing hope that this augmentation should take place during the administration of a chief governor whose many great and amiable qualities, whose wise and happy administration in the government of that kingdom, had universally endeared him to the people of Ireland. The earl received this glorious testimony of their approbation with all suitable acknowledgments: but, with a delicacy peculiar to himself, declined their proposal that the augmentation should take place during his government.

The peace of that kingdom had been for some time disturbed by a set of licentious people, who assembled in the night in arms, and committed many outrages in different parts of the island. They were indiscriminately distinguished by the name of White Boys and Levellers, because they wore linen shirts over their cloaths, that they might know one another in the dark; and levelled all the inclosures which had encroached upon commons. Indeed, this was not the only grievance of which they complained. They looked upon every diminution of a common as an injury to the poor, who had used to enjoy the benefit of that common. They therefore not only destroyed the fences which had lately been made, but also robbed and maltreated the authors and proprietors

Insurrection in that kingdom.

An. 1762. of those encroachments. They even made head against some parties and detachments that were sent to suppress them, and some lives were lost. A report began to gain ground that those were no other than assemblies of malcontents taking measures against the established government: that they were already encreased to a formidable number, well armed and disciplined by officers, who had come for that purpose from France and other foreign countries. These surmises, however, were absolutely without foundation, and all those petty insurrections were quelled by the vigilance and wise conduct of the lord-lieutenant, who, nevertheless, found it absolutely necessary to make some examples of severity, in order to prevent such disturbances for the future. What contributed, perhaps, to the more speedy restoration of that kingdom's quiet, was the raising of six new battalions on that establishment, which were, in the course of this year, levied in Ireland, of protestants and catholics indiscriminately; an experiment which succeeded according to the wish of those by whom it was projected. This and other indulgencies which may be safely granted to the catholics in Ireland, who are generally well affected to the established government, would prevent the emigration of many industrious hands, who are not only lost to their native country, but even contribute to strengthen the power of the enemies of Great-Britain.

Remark-
able im-
posture in
London.

In giving a detail of the domestic transactions which happened during the course of this year in Great-Britain, it may be deemed superfluous to parti-

particularize every event which engaged the attention of the public: we shall therefore in general observe, that murders, robberies, fraud, imposture, and every species of villainy continued to prevail not only in the metropolis, but in almost every part of the kingdom, to the shame of police, the disgrace of the nation, and the reproach of humanity. From the frivolous pursuits of the people, their rage for novelty, their admiration of shew and pageantry, their ridiculous extravagance, their licentious conduct, their savage appetite for war and carnage which they had for some time avowed, and the spirit of superstition with which they began to be possessed, one would be apt to believe that the human mind had begun to degenerate, and that mankind was relapsing into their original ignorance and barbarity. In the beginning of the year, the inhabitants of London and Westminster were alarmed and engrossed by the imposture of a child of ten years of age, the daughter of one Parsons, clerk of a parish in Cock-Lane, near West-Smithfield. This girl, tutored in all appearance by the father for the purposes of malice, pretended to be visited by the spirit of a young woman who had formerly lodged in the house, and died about a year and a half before this period. This person, who went by the name of Fanny, had lived in familiarity with one Mr. K——t, a broker. He had been the husband of her sister, and would have willingly taken Fanny to wife: but this union being forbid by the canon law, the parties agreed to indulge their mutual passion without the ceremony of the church, and lived together with great har-

An. 1762. money, until she was seized with the small-pox, of which distemper she died, to the unspeakable grief of her lover, to whom she bequeathed the whole of her slender fortune. Mr. K——t had, it seems, incurred the resentment of P——s, by pressing him for the payment of some money he had lent him while he lodged at his house; and this is supposed to have been the source of the plan which he now projected for the broker's destruction. His daughter pretended to see the apparition of Fanny, whose favourite she had been. She was seized with fits and agitations; and strange noises of scratching, fluttering, whispering, and knocking, were heard in the apartment where she lay. A woman who lived in the house, and was an accomplice in the imposture, pretended to hold conferences with the spectre. She asked if it was the spirit of Fanny; and if it was, desired the affirmative might be signified by a certain number of distinct knocks, which were heard accordingly. The signs of assent and negation being thus ascertained, she proceeded with a number of interrogations. She asked if the spirit had any thing to disclose for the detection of guilt?——if it was the spirit of Fanny?——if her death had been hastened by violent means?——if those means had been used by Mr. K——t with whom she lived? To all these and many other questions, answers were made in the affirmative by three distinct knocks to each interrogation; and this sort of communication was often repeated in the hearing of many different companies of people, who crowded to the house in order to satisfy their curiosity. The sound of the knocks varied

at different times, and seemed to proceed occasionally from different parts of the room: other noises of scratching, rustling, whispering, and something like the fluttering of wings, were frequently perceived, while the child lay in bed seemingly insensible; for her presence was the sole condition on which the spirit would make itself known, and it declared it would follow her where-soever she should be conveyed. The circumstances of this strange visitation being reported, with many idle exaggerations, interested the public to such a degree, that in all assemblies, from the highest to the most humble, nothing was heard but remarks and observations on the progress of the spirit in Cock-Lane, where there was a perpetual flux and reflux of people of all ranks and characters, whether stimulated by curiosity, actuated by superstition, or attracted by the hopes of amusement and pastime. What was at first proposed as the gratification of revenge alone, became now a source of considerable profit, as every person paid for admittance to the haunted chamber. Among the lower class of people this ridiculous imposture produced a general spirit of infatuation, and filled the domestics of almost every family with such terrors as greatly disconcerted them in the performance of their several functions. Many weak minds in respectable spheres of life, were infected by the fears of the vulgar. Some individuals who entered the house with a view to mirth and ridicule, were so struck with the scene, that they became converts to the general belief. It even made an impression upon some persons of su-

An. 1762. perior understanding; and one or two clergymen, openly avowed themselves patrons of this supernatural visitation. Superstitious terror is of all the different species of fear the most infectious; and when once it gains possession of the human mind, renders all the suggestions of reason ineffectual. The spirit was asked if it would signify its presence in the vault of a certain church where the body of Fanny was deposited; an answer was made in the affirmative, and the hour appointed for this experiment. The child was removed to another house, and so narrowly watched, that she could neither make use of her own hands, nor be assisted by any accomplice. While she remained in this situation, no knocks nor noises were heard. The vault was visited at the hour appointed: but the spirit gave no tokens of its being present. The girl being reconveyed to her father's house, the noises returned, and the spurious ghost declared in the usual way, that it did not exhibit in the vault because the body had been previously removed from thence, and was now interred in another place. The vault was again visited by several persons of credit, in whose presence the coffin was opened, and the body found almost quite consumed. This was an evidence which ought to have opened the eyes of the most infatuated; and immediately afterwards the girl being again removed to another house, in order to be more narrowly observed, was detected in the act of conveying to bed with her, a piece of board on which she had knocked with her fingers.

Notwith-

An 1762.

Punishment of
the au-
thors.

Notwithstanding these strong proofs of imposture, and the glaring absurdities which every unprejudiced man of common sense must have perceived in the whole contrivance and exhibition of this ridiculous scene, the reputation of the Cock-Lane spirit still gained ground; and of consequence the person whom it accused, was universally detested as an infamous murderer, who had poisoned a poor young creature, after having robbed her of her innocence. In vain he endeavoured to vindicate himself from this insidious charge, by publishing the affidavits of the physician and apothecary who attended her in her last illness; in vain he availed himself of the testimony of those who conversed with her in her last moments, and saw the tender parting between her and the man whom her spirit was now supposed so virulently to impeach: the more pains he took in his own justification, the people seemed the more convinced of his guilt; and some papers equally artful and malicious were published, with a view to refute what he had advanced in his own justification. Under this disagreeable oppression, he had recourse to the protection of the law, by commencing a prosecution against Parsons, the father of the child, a certain ecclesiastic who had been very active in behalf of the pretended spirit, and some others, who, by supporting the imposture, had contributed to the ruin of his reputation and fortune. They were indicted for a conspiracy, and tried before the lord-chief-justice Mansfield, who would not suffer them to make the least attempt towards proving that the visitation was, or might have

An. 1762. been, supernatural. He treated such a supposition with the contempt it deserved, and represented the whole in the right point of view, as an infamous imposture, contrived and carried on in order to effect the ruin of an innocent person. Accordingly, they were convicted of the conspiracy. Parsons was condemned to the pillory, and two years imprisonment: his wife was imprisoned for half that time: the woman who acted as interpreter for the spirit, was committed to Bridewell, to be kept for six months to hard labour; and the clergyman, together with a reputable tradesman who had been very busy in this transaction, were dismissed with a severe reprimand, after having compromised the affair with the prosecutor, to whom they paid a considerable sum of money to repair the damage he had sustained in his character and fortune.

In consequence of tempestuous weather to the northward, about fourteen whales were in the beginning of the year driven on the coast of England and taken. One of these being caught aground near the Hope, was brought up the river Thames as far as Greenland-dock. The length of it extended to fifty-four feet, and the head yielded eight puncheons of spermaceti. Another of the same species and dimensions was killed in the neighbourhood of Lynn, on the coast of Norfolk: these circumstances we mention, as whales are very seldom seen near the English shore.

Indian
chiefs
arrive in
England.

In the month of May, three Indian chiefs of the Cherokee nation arrived in England, and were presented to the king, who received them with great

great affability, and directed that they should be entertained at his expence. The principal person of the three, was called Outacite, signifying Man-killer; who had signalized himself by his valour in many skirmishes. He and his companions had been induced to visit England by motives of curiosity, which was the more remarkable, as during their stay in London, they expressed no emotions of surprize at any thing that fell under their observation, although they were indulged with the sight of every object that might be supposed to strike the imagination of a savage. They traversed the vast metropolis, swarming with innumerable crowds of people. They beheld the shops and warehouses filled with incredible profusion of wealth and merchandize; and the river covered with ships and vessels. They surveyed the churches, hospitals, palaces, and houses of the nobility: they viewed the guards exercised in the park; the surprising armoury at the Tower; the splendor and magnificence of the court; the train of artillery, the fleets, the dock-yards, in different parts of the kingdom. In a word, they saw all the improvements of arts and mechanics, the commerce, strength, and opulence of England, without discovering the least symptom of admiration, either in word, look, or gesture. They seemed to be in a state of brutal insensibility, which indeed seems to be the character of the North American tribes in general, notwithstanding all the encomiums which some writers have lavished on the natural good sense and sagacity of that people. After having been feasted and caressed for some months by the English people, they

were

An. 1762. were dismissed with some presents by the king, and reconveyed in a ship of war to their own country.

Instances
of his ma-
jesty's hu-
manity.

Every day exhibited fresh instances of his majesty's humanity and affection for his people. As the proprietors of the Antigallican privateer were said to have sustained a very considerable loss from the partiality of the Spaniards in the late reign, who had detained that ship at Cadiz, and restored to France the rich prize which she had taken; the king now ordered them a ship of forty-four guns, that they might equip her as a privateer, in order to indemnify themselves upon the subjects of Spain. His humanity was still more conspicuous with respect to the crew of a French frigate, called the *Zenobie*, commanded by Mr. de Sage, which was shipwrecked in January on the peninsula of Portland. About seventy of the people reached the shore, where they were barbarously stripped by the inhabitants. His majesty was no sooner made acquainted with their deplorable situation, than he ordered them to be supplied with necessaries and entertainment at his expence; and the lords of the admiralty gave them to understand that they were not considered as prisoners. It was not long before this act of generosity was retaliated by the subjects of France. An English trading vessel being drove ashore on the coast of Havre-de-Grace, the commandant of that place received the crew with the utmost hospitality. They had good quarters provided for them, and a daily allowance of thirty sols per man, until they were sent back to their own country.

An. 1762.
His taste
and munificence.

His majesty's munificence and taste for the fine arts, appeared on sundry occasions. He purchased above thirty thousand tracts and manuscripts formerly collected and bound up in volumes for the use of Charles the First, which had fallen into private hands, and presented them to the British Museum. He made for his own use a noble provision of curious books, prints, and drawings, including two capital collections, amounting to three hundred volumes, which had belonged to cardinal Albani at Rome, and the library and museum of Mr. Smith, a curious virtuoso who resided at Venice. The palace of Buckingham house, in St. James's Park, he purchased of sir Charles Sheffield, and presented it to the queen, after it had been improved, enlarged, and elegantly adorned with pictures and furniture for her majesty's reception. The arts and sciences were honoured with countenance and protection, and some pensions were granted to men of genius* and learning. All those who cultivated the muse from inclination, or had devoted themselves to the severer studies of science and letters, began to promise themselves halcyon days, under the wings of such a generous and distinguishing sovereign : but

* Pensions of three hundred pounds per annum were granted to Mr. Home, the dramatic writer; to Mr. Johnson, author of the English dictionary; and to Dr. Thompson, with the title of King's physician. Pensions of two hundred pounds a year were bestowed upon Dr. Pember-

son, Dr. Kennicot, and Mr. Sherridan : and fifty pounds a year were given to Ferguson the astronomer. The reader may compare these gratifications with the list of men of genius and talent, which we have exhibited at the close of the last reign.

An. 1762. by far the greater part were disappointed in their hopes of reward and encouragement. Their merit was either overlooked, or their pretensions disallowed. Perhaps the king's privy purse was found inadequate to his sentiments of liberality, and the minister thought it sufficient to distinguish a few of the first-rate geniuses, as the objects of his majesty's munificence; another kind of provision, however, might be found for men of literary merit, which should be less burthensome to the prince, at least as honourable for themselves, and much more advantageous to their country. They might be employed in places under the government, adapted to their several talents and dispositions. Indeed when we reflect upon the vast variety of offices in the gift of the crown, both at home and abroad; places in the different branches of the revenue and police: when we consider the multitude of consuls, agents, contractors, commissaries, residents, governors, and secretaries, appointed in different parts of Europe, Africa, and America; when we examine the characters of many individuals who enjoy those offices of trust and emolument, without either talent, integrity, or reputation; and revolve the number of men of genius, capacity, and character, who languish in obscurity, struggling with the adversities of life, neglected even by those ministers to whom their merit is not unknown; we cannot help feeling the mingled emotions of pity, contempt, and indignation*.

On

* In the beginning of May viscount of Clonmel in Ireland, the king created lord Ligonier land, the dignity to descend, in

On the twelfth day of August the queen was happily delivered of a prince, who was immediately created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, by letters patent under the great seal. He was by birth prince of Great Britain, electoral prince of Brunswic Lunenburg, duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, earl of Carrick, baron of Renfrew, lord of the Isles, and great steward of Scotland. On the eighth day of September he was baptized by the

An. 1762.
Birth of
the prince
of Wales.

in default of his issue male, to his nephew lieutenant colonel Ligonier. Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead was made viscount of Willsborough, in the county of Leicester, in England. Sir William Courtenay was raised to the same dignity by the title of viscount Courtenay of Powderham Castle in the county of Devon. The duke of Newcastle was made baron Pelham of Stanmer in the county of Sussex, the title, in default of his heirs male, to descend to Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, Esq; and his issue male. Lady Caroline Fox was created baroness of Holland in the county of Lincoln, the title of lord Holland to descend to her heirs male. The earl of Egmont, of Ireland, was created a British peer by the title of lord Lovel and Holland, baron Lovel and Holland of Enmore in the county of Somerset. Lord Brudenell was

made baron Montagu of Baughton in the county of Northampton. Lord Milton, of Ireland, was created a British peer by the title of baron Milton of Milton Abbey in the county of Dorset. Sir Edward Montague was made baron Beaulieu of Beaulieu in the county of Southampton, the title to devolve to his heirs male by his present wife Isabella, duchess of Manchester. George Venables Vernon of Sudbury, Esq; was ennobled by the title of lord Vernon, baron of Kinderton, in the county of Chester. George Lane, of Bramham Park in the county of York, Esq; was honoured with the title of baron Bingley in the county of York; and John Olmuis, of Newhall in the county of Essex, Esq; was created an Irish baron by the title of baron Waltham of Philip's Town in the King's county.

arch-

An. 1762. archbishop of Canterbury, and named George Augustus-Frederic; the princess dowager of Wales being god-mother, and the duke of Cumberland, with the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz represented by proxy, being god-fathers on this occasion, which produced congratulatory addresses from the city of London, the two universities, and all the cities, corporations, and communities of the kingdom.

Excessive
rains.

The latter end of the year was remarkable for incessant rains, which swelled every stream and river, so that they overflowed their banks, and deluged many parts of the kingdom, to the great damage of the inhabitants. In the low parts of Essex the waters rose twelve feet in less than five hours; all their stacks of corn, hay, and wood, together with cottages, barns, hogs, and cattle, were swept away. At Chelmsford, Cambridge, and Norwich, great damage was sustained. A great number of trees were blown down by the storm that accompanied the rain; many bridges were carried away in different parts of the kingdom; many ships were driven ashore; many thousands of cattle and sheep were lost, and a good number of persons perished.

Severe
frost.

These floods were succeeded by an intense frost, which at Christmas set in with a north easterly wind, and continued till the twenty-ninth day of January. During this period, the rivers Thames and Severn were frozen so hard, that in some places the ice was six feet thick. Fairs were held, booths erected, and carriages passed over. All inland navigation being thus interrupted, and a stop put to all manner of husbandry, and many mechanic occupations; the streets of the metropolis were filled with

with indigent labourers who went in procession with the different implements of their several professions, imploring charity, and found their account in this pathetic appeal to the pity of a public which never fails to give liberally on such occasions: Extraordinary collections were made for the indigent in every parish. The king gave a thousand pounds to the bishop of London, to be distributed among proper objects. The dukes of Newcastle, Bedford, and the earl of Bute, contributed largely to the relief of the distressed. Many other noblemen, gentlemen, and other persons in affluent circumstances, exerted their charity in favour of the poor, who were in general well clothed, fed, and supplied with necessaries: but the calamity was most severely felt by those who experienced in secret the pressure of indigence, and were too modest to make their misery known, or too proud to solicit assistance. To these the rigour of the season was the more unfortunate, as it produced a dearth in the markets, and enhanced the price of all the necessaries of life.

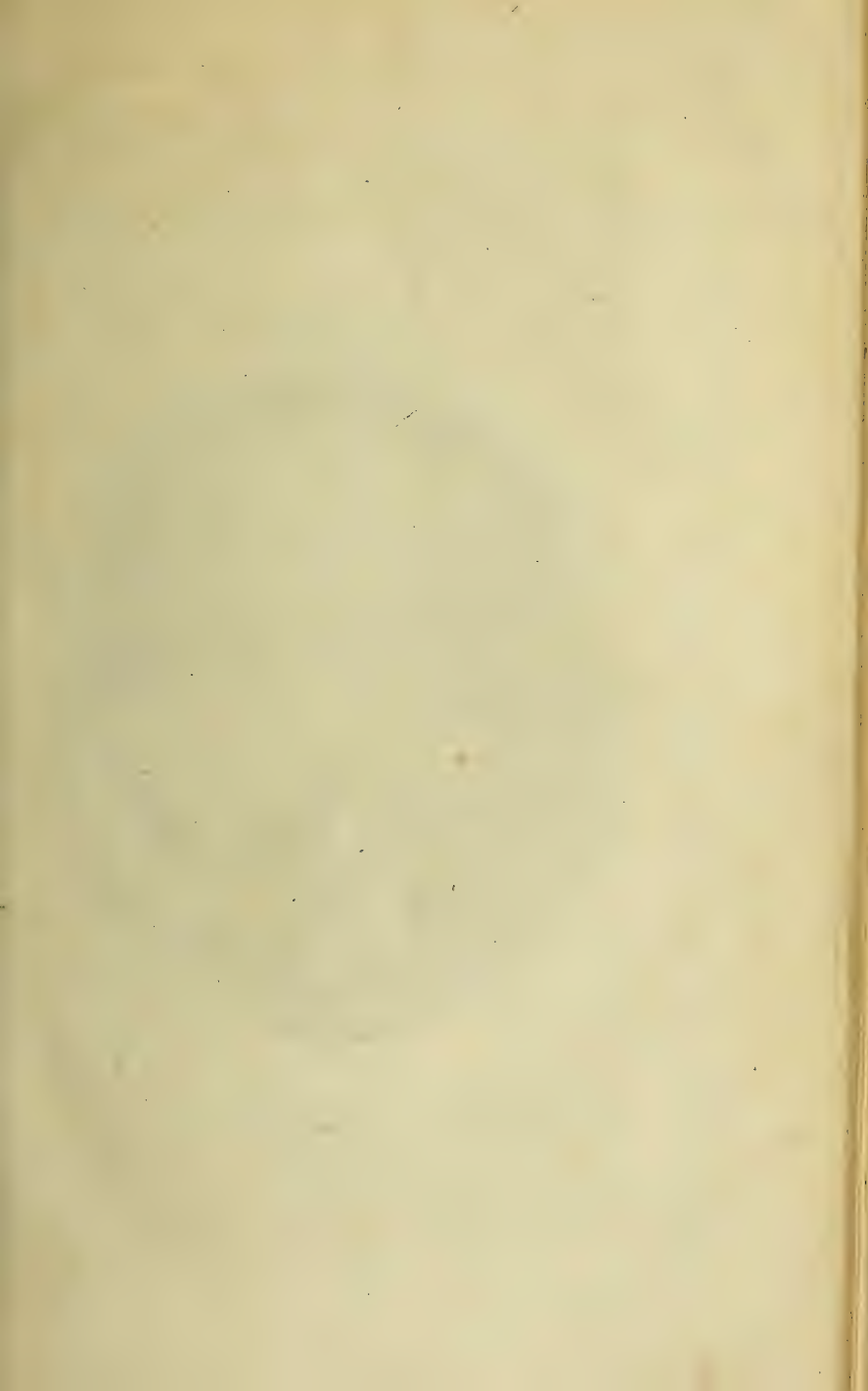
From the more frivolous objects of folly and dissipation, the minds of the people had been, in the beginning of summer, called off, to engage in the disputes of faction, which were now inflamed to such a degree of virulence as had never before disturbed the tranquility of Great Britain. When the late minister resigned, the chief direction of affairs devolved to the earl of Bute, who had for some time acted as one of the secretaries of state, and enjoyed a very distinguished share of his sovereign's confidence and favour. The influence of this nobleman could not fail to give umbrage to the

Change
in the mi-
nistry.

An. 1762. the d— of N——le, who being first lord of the treasury, thought himself intitled to the principal part of the administration, not only by virtue of his office, but also as the head of the Whig interest, which he had ever invariably patronized.

Reflec-
tions on
Whig-
gism.

In speaking of the modern Whigs, we must forget the original principles by which that party was distinguished, and remember that they were now characterized by nothing but the implicit attachment they had shewn to the house of Hanover, since the accession of which family to the throne, they had engrossed the administration with a most iniquitous spirit of exclusion, conforming themselves with the most servile complaisance to the prejudice and predilection of their p—ce, inhancing the prerogatives of the crown, in contradiction to all the avowed maxims of their sect, and maintaining their influence, partly by calumniating those of their fellow subjects, who disapproved of their measures; but chiefly by an uniform system of corruption, which they established and maintained in order to secure a constant majority in p——t. While they were thus employed in sapping insensibly the very foundations of the constitution, they affected on all occasions a spirit of toleration in matters of religion. They professed the abhorrence of their ancestors to the doctrines of passive obedience and indefeasible hereditary right: they took every opportunity to give themselves credit for the revolution, to stigmatize the family of Stuart, and to brand all their political adversaries with the odious names of Tory and Jacobite, which they affirmed to be synonymous terms. Such were the modern Whigs,





EARL of BUTE .

An. 1762.

Whigs, comprehending many noblemen and gentlemen of great fortune and influence, the whole body of protestant dissenters, the majority of the creditors of the nation, the managers of the public funds, and the greater part of the directors of all the moneyed corporations, so necessary to a government obliged to maintain an expensive war on the sole strength of public credit.

Sage conduct of the king.

The king was well aware of the fallacious distinctions which the Whigs had hitherto used for their own exclusive interest. He knew that almost the whole number of those whom they reprobated as Tories, were well affected to his government and person. Many of them were persons of great rank and extensive property, equally distinguished by their abilities and integrity; and many of them had approved themselves faithful adherents to his father and his family. He was therefore determined to favour and protect all his subjects equally, without any other distinction than that of merit; and to avoid the errors of his two immediate predecessors, who by appearing at the head of a party, had not only deprived their own councils of the best heads and best hearts in the kingdom; but also provoked some individuals to embroil the administration, from which they found themselves so unjustly excluded.

The king wisely foresaw that the d— of N——le, while he continued at the head of the treasury, might interfere with the execution of this comprehensive plan, so opposite to the maxims which his grace had always pursued; and that his disposition, which was ever prodigal, might obstruct another

Earl of Bute appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury.

Numb. 41.

C

intended

An. 1762. intended reformation in point of public œconomy. In all likelihood he entertained no very high idea of the d—ke's management and capacity, and perceived it would be expedient to give the direction of the treasury to the person who should be placed at the helm of government. These were probably the considerations, in consequence of which his grace was desired to resign his employment, and he retired accordingly about the latter end of May, when the earl of Bute was appointed first lord of the treasury. Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became secretary of state in the room of his lordship; and the place of first commissioner of the admiralty being vacated by the death of lord Anson, that office was bestowed upon the earl of Hallifax, now returned from Ireland. To manage the affairs of the administration in parliament, it was necessary to employ some person of talents and influence, well acquainted with the business and temper of the house of commons; and for this purpose the choice fell upon Mr. F—x, who still continued in the office of pay-master general of the forces, which, in time of war, is the most lucrative place under the British government.

Great
clamour
against
the new
ministry.

From the moment of Mr. P—'s resignation, a clamour had been raised against the g——t, by those who called themselves the friends and admirers of that gentleman; and this was swelled to a loud pitch by the numerous dependants of the d—ke of N——tle, whose removal gave umbrage to the whole Whig party. The duke of Devonshire resigned his office of lord chamberlain. The earl of Hardwick retired in disgust. The duke of

G——n,

An. 1762.

G——n, lord R——n——th, lord Ash——n——m, and several other noblemen numbered themselves among the mal-contents; and a good number of individuals, supposed to be attached to the late m——y, were deprived of the places they enjoyed in the service of the government. In a word, every mouth of scandal was opened, and all the pens of faction dipped in gall, to revile, calumniate, and misrepresent, the families, characters, and measures of the present ministry. They did not even respect the person of the k——g, which, exclusive of his high rank, was truly amiable. He was the only prince of the B——c line, who presumed to think for himself in matters concerning the administration of Great Britain. He had no predilection for the country of his fathers, and held its advantage as a subordinate consideration.

He had studied, understood, and was resolved to pursue the interest of his kingdom. He was determined to seize the first favourable opportunity of restoring peace to Europe: but, in the mean time, far from relaxing in his warlike operations, he prosecuted them with redoubled vigour, that his enemies might be the sooner reduced to the necessity of proposing equitable terms of accommodation. He had already signified to the k——g of P——a, that he would not renew the annual treaty, in consequence of which an enormous subsidy had been granted to that prince; but, at the same time, gave him to understand that he should for the ensuing campaign, be still accommodated with pecuniary assistance; which was refused on any other condition than a renewal of the treaty. With

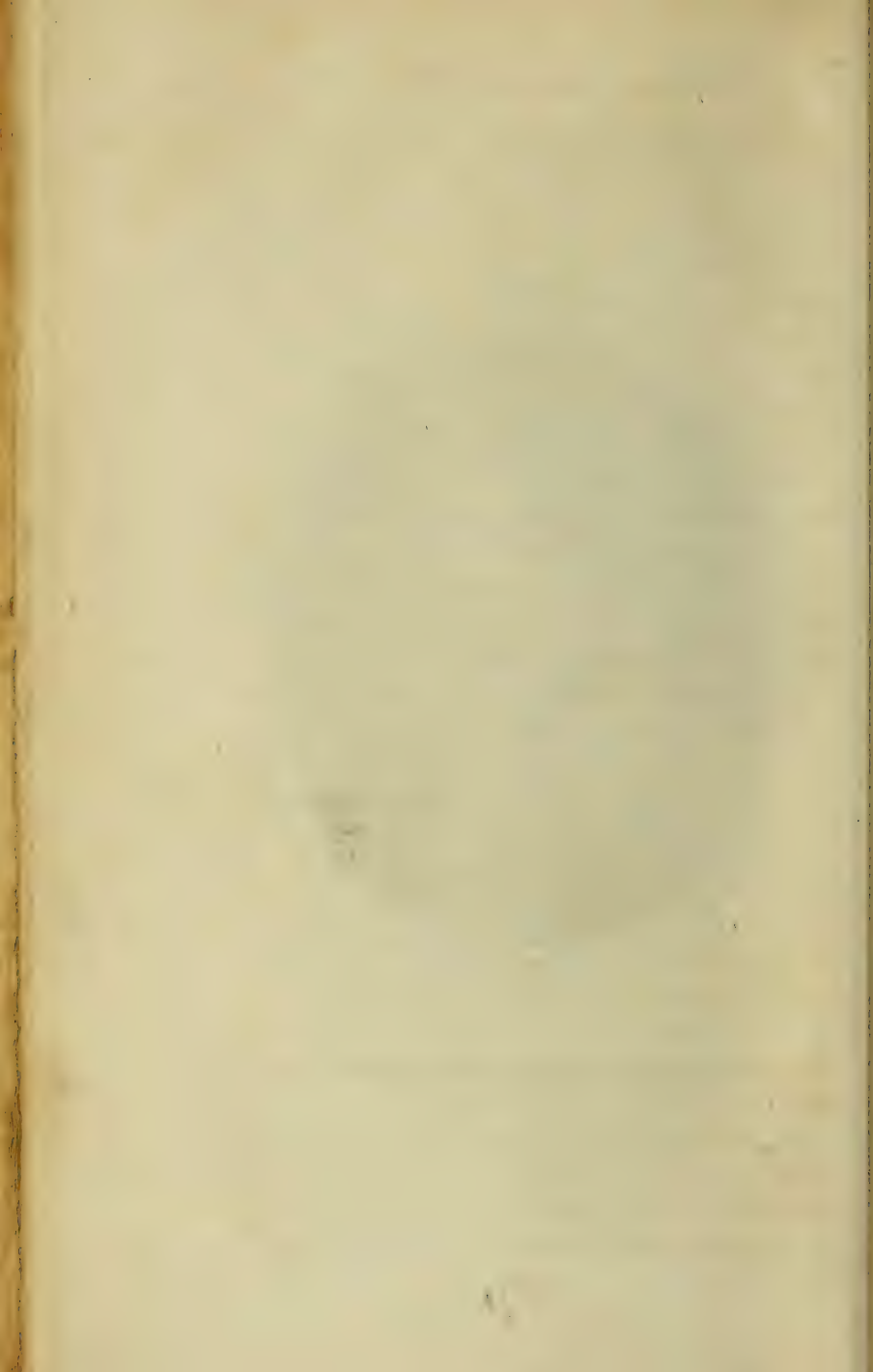
Plans of
operati-
on, offen-
sive and
defensive,
in differ-
ent parts
of the
globe.

An. 1762. respect to the British army in Westphalia, he gave orders that it should be provided with all necessaries, and recruited to the number of one hundred thousand effective men. The French were already expelled from all their settlements in North-America, except that of Louisiana, which was deemed an object of little or no importance. It was resolved therefore to transfer the seat of war from that continent; to attack the French islands, the conquest of which we have already described; and to make a vigorous impression upon Spain, not only by attempting the reduction of the Havanna, which may be considered as the key of the bay of Mexico; but also by making a descent on the island of Manilla, in the East Indies, a country in which the French had now nothing left to be conquered.

The first of these expeditions was intrusted to the conduct of the earl of Albemarle commander of the land forces, recommended for this service by the duke of Cumberland under whose auspices he had been formed to war; and the ships of war destined to co-operate in the attack, were commanded by admiral Sir George Pococke, who had already distinguished himself by his gallantry in the East-Indies: his second was Mr. Keppel, brother to the earl, an able officer, who had reduced the Isle of Goree, on the coast of Africa. They sailed from Portsmouth in the beginning of March; and reached the place of their destination without accident or obstruction. Their proceedings shall be particularized in their proper place. The design against Manilla was executed by rear admiral



EARL of ALBEMARLE.



Cornish. He had some time before sailed upon a project for the reduction of the French island of Bourbon or Mauritius. He was to have been joined by a reinforcement of ships from England, which, however, did not arrive at the place of rendezvous; and the greater part of his men being disabled by distempers, he was obliged to postpone the undertaking, which thus miscarried: we shall in due time give a detail of the other, which proved more fortunate.

For the defence of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead, under the direction of Sir Edward Hawke; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of rear-admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the channel, and all round the coasts of the island, a number of light cruisers, which acted with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could venture from any of the French sea-ports, without running the most imminent risque of being taken; and scarce a day elapsed without seeing some privateer of the enemy, either French or Spanish, brought into the harbours of Great Britain. Some large ships of war were stationed in the bay of Basque, to watch the coast of Brittany, and, in particular, to have an eye upon Brest, where some of the enemy's ships of war lay at anchor.

Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or, if that should be

An. 1762. found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. Lord Colville was continued in the command of the squadron at Hallifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North-America, and the new conquests in the gulph and river of St Laurence. Sir James Douglas still commanded the ships of war appointed for the defence of the Leeward Islands; and captain Forrest, since the death of admiral Holmes, directed the small squadron at Jamaica. Such was the general disposition for the offensive as well as the defensive measures of the campaign, and the greatest enemies of the ministry must allow it was planned with sagacity, and maintained with resolution.

Attempt
to burn
the British
squadron
in the bay
of Basque.

In the month of December of last year, a fruitless attempt was made by the enemy, to burn the British ships of war at anchor in the road of Basque. They prepared three fire-vessels, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and set on fire with a strong breeze that blew directly on the English squadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation; and the wind luckily shifting, drove them clear of the ships they were intended to destroy. They continued burning some time, after having blown up with a terrible explosion, and every person on board perished.

In the beginning of April, captain Gambier, commander of the Burford, arrived at Plymouth with a large French East-India ship from the Isle of Bourbon, laden with coffee and pepper, which had been taken by one of Sir George Pococke's squadron, in the Chops of the Channel.

In May, two British frigates, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the *Hermione*, a Spanish register ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with treasure and valuable effects, by which all the captors were enriched. Her cargo amounted to about one million sterling, which was considerably more than had ever before been taken in any one bottom; and the loss of so much treasure in the beginning of such an expensive war, must have been a severe stroke on the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggon to London, was carried in procession to the bank, amidst the acclamations of the people, who considered it as a happy omen of success in the war with Spain, against which nation they were incensed to a remarkable degree of acrimony.

An. 1762.
Capture
of the
Spanish
ship *Hermione*.

About the latter end of May, intelligence being received that a French squadron under the command of Mr. de Ternay had escaped from Brest in a fog, and its destination being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York, as rear-admiral, sailed from Spithead with seven ships of the line, and two frigates, in hopes of falling in with the enemy; but, after having visited the coast of France, and cruised for some time in the Chops of the Channel for the protection of the trade, they returned to Portsmouth, without having seen Mr. de Ternay. He had been descried however on the eleventh of May, about fifty leagues to the south-west of the Lizard, by captain Rowley, who had sailed with three ships of war as convoy to a fleet of merchant ships bound to the East and West-

A French
squadron
surprizes
St. John's
in New-
found-
land.

Aug. 1762. Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley, though inferior in strength to the enemy, no sooner perceived them to windward, than he made a disposition for battle, and lay to, waiting their approach. They accordingly bore down upon him: then he hoisted British colours, and fired at the nearest, when she was within little more than random shot. They immediately hoisted English ensigns, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chase till three in the afternoon, when they were scarcely in sight: but having no hope of bringing them to action, he now discontinued the pursuit, and rejoined his convoy.

The French commander steered his course to Newfoundland, and, on the twenty-fourth day of June, entered the bay of Bulls, where he landed some troops without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable English settlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which being in no condition of defence, was surrendered upon capitulation. One company of soldiers, of which the garrison of the fort consisted, were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majesty's sloop the Gramont, which was in the harbour. They also took several other vessels, destroyed many stages erected for curing cod, and did considerable damage to the English fishers and settlers on different parts of the coast. The ministry were no sooner informed of this small check, which it was impossible either to foresee or prevent, than they took measures for retrieving the loss which the nation had sustained; and this petty triumph of the enemy

enemy was of very short duration. The armament fitted out in England for retaking Newfoundland, was rendered unnecessary by the vigilance and activity of Sir Jeffery Amherst and lord Colville, who commanded by land and sea in North-America. An. 1762.

In September, the Hunter sloop of war, one of admiral Moore's cruisers, falling in with four Dutch merchant ships in the Channel, under convoy of a frigate of thirty-six guns, the English captain prepared to examine the lading of the Dutch vessels, when the commander of the frigate interposing, declared he would not suffer any such search to be made. The other insisting upon the examination, but being prevented by superior force, made a signal to the Diana and Chester ships of war, which happened to be in sight, and they advanced accordingly. After some expostulation, the Dutch captain continuing obstinate, the Diana fired a gun to bring him to, and he returned a whole broadside. An engagement immediately ensued, and was maintained with great vivacity for about fifteen minutes, when the Dutchman thought proper to strike his colours, having lost his own nose, and nine or ten men in the action. He was brought into the Downs, together with his convoy, which were found laden with contraband merchandize from Havre to Brest. A Dutch ship of war brought into the Downs.

On the first day of September the Zephyr, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, bound to Newfoundland, with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, was taken in the Chops of the Channel by the Lion ship of war, after an engagement of two hours, Ships taken from the enemy.

An. 1762. hours, in which she had about thirty men killed and wounded.

In the beginning of November, a French ship mounted with twenty cannon, bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francois, on the island of Hispaniola, was taken by captain Ruthven, nephew to the earl of Bute, commander of the *Terpsichore*, after a sharp action, in which he himself was wounded. On the ninth of the same month, the enemy lost the *Oiseau*, another frigate of twenty-six guns, commanded by the chevalier de Modene, which fell in with captain Tonyn of the king's ship the *Brune*, about seven leagues from Carthage. The engagement was maintained, for some time, with great spirit on both sides; but at length the chevalier was obliged to submit, having lost about thirty men, including all his officers, except three, who with himself were wounded in the action.

A French frigate wrecked in the harbour of Villa-franca.

A third French frigate, called the *Minerve*, was wrecked in the harbour of Villa franca, through the pride, precipitation, and ignorance of her commander. She had, in company with four French ships of war, given chase to the *Sheerness*, an English frigate commanded by captain Clarke, from Gibraltar, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa-franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing fresh. He was immediately followed by the enemy, when the captain of the *Minerve*, actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to lie between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks that bound the eastern side of the harbour. Being himself ignorant of the art of seamanship, and ill seconded by a crew little acquainted

quainted with such emergencies, his ship was in a short time dashed in pieces; and a considerable number of his people perished, notwithstanding all the assistance he received from his consorts. On this melancholy occasion captain Clarke, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was the effect of their enmity to him and his country, obeyed the dictates of humanity, by exerting himself for their relief. He sent his boats manned to their assistance, and actually saved the lives of the greater part of their company: an act of generous benevolence, for which he was thanked in person by the French commodore.

An. 1762.

About the end of August, captain Hotham, of the *Æolus*, chased two Spanish ships into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the second day of September, standing into the bay, came to an anchor in such a situation, as to bring his guns to bear, not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated upon an eminence. After a short contest both the battery and ship were abandoned: before captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. She was a large ship bound from the Caraccas to Passage, laden with hides and cocoa; the other escaped in the night. On the eleventh of September, captain Hotham fell in with a French squadron, consisting of seven sail, between St. Andero and Bilboa, and kept company with them till the sixteenth, as far to the westward as Cape Finisterre, when he returned to his station. By a sloop from Bourdeaux, which he took on the twentieth,

Prizes by
captain
Hotham.

An. 1762. he understood that this squadron had a body of troops on board for St. Domingo.

The navy of France was by this time reduced to such a small number, that their ministry was obliged to send reinforcements to their settlements abroad, in single ships, some of which were intercepted by the British cruisers, particularly one transport containing the best part of a regiment designed to reinforce their colony of Louisiana, which had engaged a good share of their attention since the reduction of Canada.

Duke of
York sails
again
from
Spithead.

About the end of September, the duke of York and Sir Charles Hardy sailed again with a small squadron to the bay of Biscay, with a view to intercept the enemy's cruisers, and protect the shipping of Great Britain on their voyage home from the westward; and after a short cruise returned to Spithead.

Prizes
made in
the West
Indies.

The cruisers of Great Britain were not less alert in the seas of America. In the beginning of April captain Ourry of the *Actæon*, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register ship, bound to Lagueira, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of twenty-five sail of French merchant ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, took their departure from Cape Francois for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were surpris'd and taken in the night by some privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune to fall in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-royal in Jamaica.

In

In the course of this war the French nation hath An.1762.
lost thirty-seven ships of the line, and fifty-five frigates; of these the English took eighteen capital ships of war, and thirty-six frigates; and destroyed fourteen of the line, and thirteen frigates; five large ships and six frigates they lost by accidents. On the other hand, the French took two, and destroyed three English frigates; and thirteen capital British ships, and fourteen frigates, were lost by accident. Of merchant ships belonging to Great Britain, the enemy took eight hundred and twelve from the commencement of the war to the cessation of arms*.

After all the expence which Great Britain had so profusely poured forth in prosecuting her military operations on the different theatres of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, she was destined to sustain the burthen of a new war kindled against Portugal by the alliance of Bourbon. The courts of Versailles and Madrid, perceiving how bootless it would be to contend with the power of England on their own element; and that, in order to fru-

Designs
of the
Bourbon
alliance
upon Por-
tugal.

* In the course of the preceding year, the inhabitants of the island of Bermudas were exposed to a dangerous conspiracy, in which about seven hundred negro slaves were engaged to massacre all the white families, and erect an independent government among themselves. Before the time fixed for the execution of this plot, it was happily discovered by one of the female conspirators, who had a particular regard for her mistress. Measures were immediately taken for the preservation of the people. The principal conspirators being apprehended, were convicted and executed, and the general tranquillity in a little time restored.

strate

An. 1762. strate her designs upon their West Indian settlements, it would be necessary to find new employment for her arms in another quarter, resolved to attack her through the sides of some ally, the only avenue by which she was at all accessible. The war in Germany, howsoever it might have increased her burthens, had not yet been able to exhaust her credit; nor had it prevented her conquests in other quarters of the globe. They hoped, however, that both these purposes might be effected by adding to that drain another continental sluice through which her blood and treasure should be discharged. In these sentiments they cast their eyes upon the kingdom of Portugal, which was suited in all respects to the ideas they had conceived. They knew it was a country altogether unprovided with the means of defence. The military spirit by which the Portuguese had formerly signalized themselves, was now quite extinguished. The nobles were grown effeminate and slothful. The people were overwhelmed with ignorance, bigotry, and oppression spiritual as well as temporal. There was neither valour, skill, discipline, nor order among their troops; nor indeed any appearance of a regular army; and the frontier places were ill-fortified, worse garrisoned, and almost destitute of artillery and ammunition. The kingdom had not yet recovered from the consternation and losses occasioned by the dreadful earthquake which had destroyed the capital. The expulsion of the Jesuits, and the subsequent difference with the see of Rome, had filled the nation with discontent and disquiet. The late attempt upon the king's life by persons of
the

An. 1762.

the first rank, had naturally inspired the sovereign with sentiments of distrust and anxiety; and the minds of the people were still overspread with gloomy terror from the horrible execution of the conspirators, who consisted of the first families in Portugal, men not more distinguished by their high rank, than generally esteemed and beloved for their personal qualifications. This being the unfortunate situation of Portugal, the house of Bourbon hoped that kingdom would be an easy conquest, notwithstanding all the succours it could possibly receive from England; that this being once achieved, Great Britain would lose one considerable source of wealth, amounting to a million sterling per annum, the balance of her trade with this country; and that such a conquest would be a valuable deposit to be exchanged at the peace for the further acquisitions England might make at the expence of France or Spain.

The previous measures being taken by these two powers, his catholic majesty began to make preparations for war. He gave orders for filling magazines, providing trains of artillery, and strengthening his fortified places on the side of Portugal; and a considerable body of forces, supplied with able engineers from France, marched in the beginning of the year towards those frontiers. The court of Lisbon, alarmed at these motions, the meaning of which it could not misunderstand, had immediate recourse to the king of England, the only ally upon whom his Portuguese majesty thought he could depend for protection. His ambassador at London explained to the ministry the danger

Prepara-
tions a-
gainst that
kingdom.

An. 1762. danger to which his master was exposed from such a formidable invasion ; at the same time declaring he was resolved to pursue the most vigorous measures of defence. He observed that the Portuguese troops were ordered to assemble ; that directions were given for equipping a squadron of ships ; for putting the sea-ports in a posture of defence ; and for fortifying the frontiers of the kingdom. Finally, he assured them that his most faithful majesty was determined to adhere to his engagements with England. He therefore made a requisition of the succours stipulated in favour of Portugal, by the treaties subsisting between the two nations. He expressed a desire that his master should be supplied with a number of able officers to command, discipline, and conduct the forces of Portugal, which had been long refused to war ; and that his Britannic majesty would continue to favour him with what further assistance the necessities of his occasions might require.

The court of London, reflecting that both the honour and the interest of Great Britain was concerned in supporting this ally, resolved immediately to exert itself for the defence of Portugal. Orders were issued for transporting thither a strong body of forces, under the command of the lord Tyrawley, a veteran general of great experience and capacity, who had heretofore resided as ambassador at Lisbon, and was perfectly well acquainted with the genius of that people. He was now appointed plenipotentiary, with instructions to examine the state of the Portuguese forces, and to assist the ministry of that kingdom with his best advice in forming

forming their army, and in making proper dispositions for the defence of their frontiers.

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Mean while the courts of Madrid and Versailles, thinking it high time to pull off the masque, presented by their ambassadors at Lisbon, a joint memorial to the Portuguese ministry, dated on the sixteenth day of March, inviting the king of Portugal to renounce his connections with Great Britain, and engage in the offensive and defensive alliance which they had formed against that insolent and dangerous power, which affected despotism by sea, and had in a particular manner injured and oppressed the kingdom of Portugal. The king of Spain, after having professed the warmest affection for his dear brother-in-law, and the most cordial attachment to his interests, insisted upon his driving all the British subjects out of his dominions, and all the English shipping from his ports, giving him to understand that he had an army already on the frontiers of Portugal, which should enter the kingdom without delay, and occupy his fortresses and maritime places, to protect them from the resentment of the English monarch, should he attempt to chastise his faithful majesty for having abandoned the alliance of Great Britain.

Memorials presented by the courts of Versailles and Madrid to the king of Portugal.

The ministers of the two crowns, when they delivered these extraordinary memorials, declared to Don Lewis da Cunha, the Portuguese secretary of state, that they were ordered to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that every delay beyond that term would be considered as a refusal. It would be superfluous to make any other reflection upon those memorials, but that they were perhaps

An. 1762. the most insolent and iniquitous which had ever been presented to any independent state; that the arguments they contained were equally ridiculous and absurd; and that the slightest matter will serve as a pretence to powerful princes, who find themselves in condition to oppress their weaker neighbours, for the gratification of their own interest or ambition.

Reflec-
tions on
the situ-
ation of
that mo-
narch.

The king of Portugal, thus situated, seems to have had some reason for hesitation. The threats of the house of Bourbon resembled a dreadful storm ready to burst upon his head: even their offers of friendship were accompanied with a condition which struck at the very foundation of his independency; namely, that of admitting Spanish garrisons into all his fortified places. The enmity of Great-Britain, which he was solicited to provoke, formed a prospect which, though at a greater distance, appeared equally dangerous and discouraging. Portugal has no resources in itself, but depends entirely upon the supplies of gold and merchandize which it draws from its settlements in the East-Indies, and its colony of Brasil upon the continent of America. None of these were in any condition of defence; consequently they lay exposed at the mercy of England, whose fleets covered the ocean, and whose naval armaments had for some time triumphed over all resistance. Over and above these considerations, perhaps he reflected that England was the only nation to which his people could dispose of the wines of Portugal to advantage, and by which they could be regularly and reasonably supplied with those necessary articles

cles of merchandize which their own country did not produce.

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Whatever his reflections might have been when he was first menaced with this invasion, his resolution was now taken. He replied to the memorials which had been delivered to his minister, That he was sincerely disposed to act as mediator in compromising the differences between the house of Bourbon and the king of Great-Britain: that the honour of his crown and the faith of solemn treaties would not permit him to abandon the alliance of England, from which he had received no injury or provocation: that the deplorable state of his kingdom would not allow him (were he so inclined) to engage as a principal of the war: that he was determined to observe a strict neutrality: that he had given orders to repair his maritime places, to equip a squadron of ships sufficient to protect them, and to hold his troops in readiness for the defence of his kingdom, as well as for the maintenance of that neutrality to which he adhered.

He rejects their proposals.

These reasons, urged with modesty and fortitude, could not be supposed to have any effect upon princes who were determined not to be satisfied with reason alone. On the first of April they presented another joint remonstrance, in which they insisted upon the following ridiculous positions: That England had imposed a yoke upon Portugal: that the ships of England had attacked a French squadron in one of the ports of Portugal; an insult sufficient to induce his Portuguese majesty to declare war against Great Britain, un-

They deliver a second memorial.

Ann. 1762. less he had received satisfaction: that as he had not obtained restitution of the French ships so taken in the Bay of Lagos, the most christian king had a right to declare war against Portugal: that his most faithful majesty's defensive alliance with England became, in effect, an offensive alliance, from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and from the nature of the English power: that the British squadrons could not keep the sea in all seasons, nor intercept the French and Spanish navigation without the ports and assistance of Portugal: that all the riches of Portugal passed into the hands of the English; consequently Portugal furnishes them with the means to make war, the alliance therefore is offensive: that those alliances were made in the beginning of the century, when differences subsisted between the possessors of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal; but now those animosities are happily removed, and the two kings are connected by the ties of blood and friendship; consequently his Portuguese majesty ought to abandon the English, and enter heartily into the measures and resentments of his good brother. They again invited him to take this salutary step, declaring that, in the mean time, the Spanish troops should enter Portugal to take possession of those places which the enemy might otherwise be permitted to occupy: that they should maintain the strictest discipline, and pay punctually for every necessary with which they might be supplied, unless they should meet with resistance; in which case their peaceable intention might be frustrated.

The Portuguese ministry having, in their answer, taken the trouble to refute these allegations, the absurdity of which glared full in the face of all Europe, the two courts delivered a third memorial, couched in terms of the same import, and demanded passports for their ambassadors, who were recalled. This third memorial was answered by the court of Lisbon, and its ambassadors at Paris and Madrid were directed to retire.

An. 1762.

The Spanish army having already passed the frontiers, and in separate bodies, begun hostilities, by attacking several places belonging to Portugal, his most faithful majesty issued a declaration of war against Spain, on the twenty-third day of May; and in June the kings of France and Spain declared war against Portugal, at Versailles and Madrid. All the French and Spanish subjects in Portugal were ordered to quit that kingdom in fifteen days, and their goods were confiscated. The same rigour was practised against the Portuguese who were settled in France and Spain, though expressly contrary to an article in the treaty of Utrecht, stipulating that, in case of a rupture, the space of six months should be granted to the subjects of the two crowns respectively, to sell or remove their effects, and withdraw their persons. What induced the king of Portugal to deviate from this article, which is a tie that ought to be held sacred and inviolate by all nations that respect the interests of commerce and the rights of humanity, we shall not pretend to determine.

War between the house of Bourbon and Portugal.

By this time the British succours had arrived in Portugal, to the number of about eight thousand

British succours arrive in that kingdom.

An. 1762. troops, partly drawn from Belleisle, and partly from Ireland, where two regiments of Roman catholics had been raised for this service, and a fine train of artillery was provided, together with large supplies of stores and ammunition. The king of Portugal had conferred the supreme command of his army upon the count de la Lippe Buckebourg, who had the honour to be an ally of Great Britain, and had commanded the artillery of the British army in Westphalia during the whole course of this war. He had formerly bore a commission in the English guards, and upon all occasions approved himself an officer of distinguished valour and capacity. He was accompanied in Portugal by one of the princes of Mecklenbourg-Strelitz, brother to the queen of Great Britain, who resolved to make this campaign in the Portuguese service. The earl of Loudon was second to lord Tyrawley in conducting the English auxiliaries; lieutenant-general Townshend, who had served with such reputation in America, was next to his lordship in command; and the subordinates were lord George Lenox, with the brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne; the former of these last had been governor of Belleisle, where he was now succeeded by colonel Ferrester, an accomplished officer, equally distinguished for his wit, politeness, and humanity; the other commanded a regiment of light horse, which were now numbered among the English troops who served in Portugal. Besides these, several natives of North Britain, who had learned the art of war in the English or foreign service, were recommended for their merit to his Portuguese majesty,

majesty, who promoted them to the command of regiments in his army. An.1762.

As for L—d T—y, who possessed a great share of penetration and address, he was not at all pleased with the conduct of the Portuguese ministry. He complained that they had misrepresented the state of their forces to the court of Great Britain: that they had taken no effectual steps to secure their frontier places: that they amused him with general promises, and evasive answers, and started frivolous objections to the execution of those measures which he proposed for the operations of the war. In a word, he taxed them with want of sincerity; desired to be recalled; and made no scruple of hinting a suspicion that the rupture between Portugal and Spain was no other than a collusion. Certain it is, his most faithful majesty could not have fallen upon more effectual means to make a diversion of the British troops and treasure in favour of his brother-in-law, and to vest him with a claim of indemnification for the places he might lose in other parts of the world, than such a pretended rupture, under the cover of which he, in appearance, fulfilled his engagements with Great Britain, while his people securely enjoyed the benefits of an uninterrupted commerce with that nation, and his settlements abroad ran no risk of being insulted or reduced. We will not, however, presume to say that any christian prince would so far deviate from good faith, would so much disregard the dictates of conscience and humanity, as to sacrifice the blood of his own subjects, together with the lives of his best allies, in order to maintain such a base iniquitous im-

L—d
T—y
dissatisfied
with
the Por-
tuguese
ministry.

An. 1762. posture. Whether the suspicions of Lord T——y were well founded, or the effects only of peevishness and caprice, he certainly returned to England in disgust, leaving the command of the British auxiliaries to the earl of Loudon, who, in conjunction with the count de la Lippe, resolved to begin the campaign without further delay.

The
Spanish
army en-
ters Por-
tugal.

The Spanish forces had been assembled in three separate bodies. Their intention was to penetrate into Portugal by three different avenues. The marquis de Sarria, who commanded the bulk of their army, consisting of thirty-six battalions and thirty-five squadrons, passed the rivers Douro and Esla, below Zamora. The body assembled in Galicia amounted to eight battalions of regular troops, six of militia, and two squadrons of horse; and the third in Andalusia amounted to four battalions regular, and the same number of militia, with eight squadrons of cavalry. The design was to form one camp between Villa-real, Braga and Oporto; a second under Abrantes; and a third in the neighbourhood of Elvas; so that their principal objects seemed to be Lisbon and Oporto, the two most important cities and sea-ports of Portugal, and the centers of the whole English commerce with that kingdom.

They re-
duce Mi-
randa,
Bragan-
za, and
Chaves.

The first attempt of consequence they made was the siege of Miranda, which they invested in the beginning of May; but, before any battery could be erected, the magazine of the place taking fire by accident, and blowing up, made two large breaches in the walls, and about five hundred men of the garrison lost their lives by the explosion.

In

An. 1762.

In consequence of this misfortune, Don Benito Joseph Faqueredo, governor of the place, surrendered himself prisoner of war with his garrison, and the Spanish troops took possession of the city. From hence the marquis de Sarria sent a detachment to attack the town of Braganza; but the garrison retired with precipitation at their approach, and the magistrates presented the keys of the town to the Spanish commander. No steps had been taken for putting those two places in a proper posture of defence. In the course of the same month, colonel Alexander O'Reily, a native of Ireland, being detached by the marquis of Sarria with a body of light-armed horse and infantry, to make an attempt upon Chaves, that officer executed his orders with equal activity and success. He marched through bye-roads above fourteen leagues in two days, and shewed himself all of a sudden at the gates of the place: but it was already abandoned by the garrison, though it consisted of two thousand effective men; and the town was well provided with artillery, ammunition, stores and provision for a vigorous defence. These, however, were rendered useless by the ruinous state of the fortifications, which had been long neglected.

After these exploits, the Spanish forces made an attempt to penetrate to the province of Minho; but finding the passes of Monte Allegre guarded by some regiments of militia, under the command of Don John de Lancaastro, and Don Francisco Joseph Sarmiento; they changed their route, and resolved to pass the mountains of Maran and Amarante, that they might advance directly to the city of Oporto: precautions however had been taken to obstruct
 * their

They change their route, and meet with some inconsiderable checks.

An 1762. their passage, and some regular troops were ordered to garrison the city thus threatened. Part of the enemy that remained at Miranda had, in attempting to pass the river Douro, near Villa-nova de Foscoa, been repulsed by the inhabitants, supported by some militia, who were now reinforced by a detachment of regular forces, under the command of the marquis de Angeja, and the count de Arcos. On the side of Almeida, the enemy, to the number of eight thousand, passed the frontier in the beginning of June, and encamped between Val-de-la-mula, and Val de Coelha, from whence they had detached parties to ravage the country. In the province of Tra los-montes, the Spanish army was divided into three separate bodies, the principal of which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Miranda, the other at Torre de Moncorvo.

They be-
sieve and
take Al-
meyda.

The army of Portugal, when assembled, was in no condition to face the enemy in the open field. All that could be done was to harass them in their advances through a barren country, rendered almost impassable by steep mountains and narrow passes. In ravaging the open country, the Spanish detachments committed some barbarities upon the peasants, and these were retaliated with interest; for an inveterate enmity has for a long time subsisted between the common people of these two nations, inflamed by former wars, and maintained by a long course of mutual rapine and other offices of bad neighbourhood. That body which had encamped near the Val-de-la-mula, being considerably reinforced from Estremadura, and supplied with a train of artillery and other implements of siege, invested
Almeyda

Almeyda in the month of July. On the twenty-fifth their trenches were opened, and next day they were joined by the French auxiliaries, to the number of eight thousand. On the twenty-fifth day of August the garrison capitulated, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, which made a much better defence than was expected.

An. 1762.

The count de la Lippe, from the moment of his arrival in Portugal, took every step which military skill and prudence could dictate to form the troops to a regular discipline by the example of the English auxiliaries, who were mingled in due proportions with the different detachments posted in sundry parts of the kingdom, so as to guard the passes of the mountains, harass and annoy the enemy in their progress, intercept their convoys, and cut off their parties. Some British officers were sent to instruct and superintend the conduct of the militia and peasants, who behaved on some occasions with activity and resolution. Yet the aversion of the Portuguese people to the English, whom they considered as hereticks, was so insurmountable as not to be overcome, even by the sentiments of gratitude, for the protection they derived from their continual protection and offices of friendship. The officers of Britain, even in their endeavours to distress the invaders of Portugal, were upon all occasions thwarted, impeded, and opposed by those wretched bigots, who would rather have been enslaved, even by the odious Spaniard, than owe their deliverance to the more detested subjects of Great Britain. Their animosity to the Spaniards was founded on temporal provocations; but their abhorrence of the English

Steps taken by the count de la Lippe.

arose

An. 1762. arose from religious rancour, which, of all the different species of hatred, is the most inveterate, implacable, and inhuman.

Inactivity
of the
Spaniards

The Spanish forces had, without all doubt, many difficulties to encounter from the nature of the country, which was not only extremely mountainous, but so very barren and wretchedly poor, as to afford little or nothing for their subsistence. Nevertheless, had they been really bent upon the conquest of the kingdom; had they advanced with spirit, activity and perseverance, and made a proper use of all the advantages they possessed, it was supposed they might have penetrated to Lisbon before any effectual measures could have been taken to obstruct their progress. But, instead of prosecuting their first success with vigour, they lingered in their operations, and during the heats of summer, were distributed into quarters of refreshment. These delays seemed to corroborate the suspicion of a secret understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon. Had the Spaniards taken possession of the whole kingdom, the war in that quarter must have been terminated. The British succours would have been withdrawn by means of a squadron, which remained in the Tagus to answer any emergency of that nature; and perhaps the next armament from England would have been directed against Brasil.

Brigadier
Bur-
goyne
surprizes
Valencia
d'Alcan-
tara.

In this season of inaction, the count de la Lippe resolved to attack Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Portugal, where, according to the intelligence he had received, the enemy had provided large magazines of flour and forage. The place was at a considerable distance, and the design required

quired uncommon courage, conduct, and expedition. An. 1762.
For this enterprize the count pitched upon brigadier Burgoyne, who, on the twenty-fifth day of July, passed the Tagus at midnight, with four hundred of his own dragoons, and put himself at the head of all the British grenadiers, commanded by lord Pulteney, and eleven companies of Portuguese grenadiers, with two pieces of light artillery, and two howitzers. Having marched across the country to Apallem, which he reached on the morning of the twenty-fifth, he proceeded to Castel-Vida, where, arriving late at night, he was joined by some infantry, and irregular cavalry, with forty-eight armed peasants; and here he made his final disposition, in consequence of the advices he received touching the situation and the state of the place he was determined to attack. Notwithstanding all the dispatch he could make in the night, he found himself overtaken by day-light, before he could reach Valencia; so that he was obliged to lay aside the disposition he had made, and advance with the cavalry at full gallop, in hope of surprising the place. He accordingly entered the town sword in hand, dispersed the guards that were in the great square, and occupied the ends of the streets, having met with little or no resistance. Some desperate parties attacked the regiment when it was formed in the square; but they were all killed or taken. When the grenadiers came up, they sustained some loss by firing from the windows, which however soon ceased, when the brigadier declared that he would set fire to the town at the four quarters of it, if they would not desist. A detachment of dragoons being sent

An. 1762. sent out to scour the country, brought in some prisoners, with a good number of horses. A British serjeant and six men only, falling in with a subaltern of the enemy, at the head of twenty-five dragoons, unbroken and prepared for action, killed six, made all the rest prisoners, and took the horses of the whole party. Major-general Don Michael d'Iruniberri, and Kalanca his aid-de-camp, one colonel with his adjutant, two captains, seventeen subalterns, fifty-nine soldiers, with three pair of colours, a great quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor, who brought away hostages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the king's revenue for one year, which he exacted as a consideration for having spared the town and convents. Lieutenant colonel Somerville, lord Pulteney, and major Singleton, distinguished themselves in this action, which cost the British troops but one lieutenant, one serjeant, and three men killed, with ten horses, and about twenty private men wounded. The information which the count had received about the magazine, was groundless; but the Spanish major-general d'Iruniberri was to have entered Alentejo in a few days, with a considerable detachment, and when taken was actually employed in reconnoitering the entrance into that province.

Disposition of the enemy at Vila-velha.

This was not the only spirited exploit performed by the British troops in Portugal, nor the sole occasion upon which brigadier Burgoyne displayed his gallantry and good conduct. The Spanish army, now commanded by the Conde de Aranda, having left garrisons in Almeyda and Castel Rodrigo, marched by

by Alfayates to Castel Branco; and this motion obliged the count de la Lippe to abandon his strong camp at Ponte de Murcella in the Beira, from whence he marched back into Estremadura. On the eighteenth day of September, he arrived at Abrantes; and lord Loudon, with a separate corps, encamped at Sardeal in the neighbourhood. The business now was to prevent the Spaniards from forcing a passage through the mountains in their front, and from crossing the river Tagus at Villa-velha. For these purposes the marshal count de la Lippe ordered the count St. Jago, with four battalions, six companies of grenadiers, and a regiment of cavalry, to occupy the strong pass of Alvito, which had been esteemed impregnable; and brigadier general Burgoyne, with part of his own regiment, the royal volunteers, and the English grenadiers, encamped on the southern bank of the Tagus, over-against Villa-velha, where the great road from Castel Branco crosses the river into Alentejo. Such was the disposition, when the enemy, on the first day of October, made several movements towards both these advanced bodies; they placed six thousand men over-against the corps of the count St. Jago, and attacked upon his right the old Moorish castle of Villa-velha, at the same time assaulting a post upon his left, commanded by a major at the defile of St. Simon. Though brigadier Burgoyne for several days protected the castle of Villa-velha, by his cannon across the river, it was at length reduced, and the post of St. Simon taken: the enemy likewise made themselves masters of the passes of the mountains; so that the corps com-
manded

An. 1762. manded by the count St. Jago was in the utmost danger of being attacked by superior forces, in front and rear.

British
troops se-
cure the
retreat of
the Por-
tuguese
army.

In this emergency, the marshal ordered lord Loudon to march and secure the retreat of the count, who had instructions to retire. His lordship immediately advanced with great expedition by the shortest road through the mountains, to Soubrira-formosa, where he was joined by major Macbean of the artillery, with four regimental field pieces. The enemy, perceiving their intention to retreat, detached a strong body over the river Al-vito, to harraßs the rear-guard, which was formed of four English regiments, six companies of Portuguese grenadiers, a few light dragoons, a regiment of Portuguese cavalry, with the four field pieces, the whole under his lordship's command. The retreat was conducted with such good order and countenance, that not a man was lost, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, who, being much galled by the artillery, thought proper to desist, while the forces of Portugal continued their march unmolested towards Cardegas.

Beat up
the ene-
my's
quarters.

The enemy, on account of these motions, having weakened their corps at Villa-velha, brigadier Burgoyle seized this favourable opportunity to beat up their quarters. He directed lieutenant-colonel Lee, with a detachment of British troops, to ford the Tagus in the night, and fall upon the Spanish camp. This gallant officer executed the plan with equal spirit and success, while the brigadier pointed his cannon, and made a false attack on the other side, to amuse and distract the enemy. The colonel
having

An. 1762.

having happily passed the ford, and taken possession of a little village near the mountain of Villa-velha, where the Spanish magazines were established, entered their encampment without being perceived, and a considerable slaughter ensued. The enemy being at length alarmed, began to make a confused and irregular defence; but being vigorously pushed by the grenadiers and volunteers, who used their bayonets without firing, they found it impossible to form, and were obliged to submit. The only part of them that made a regular stand was a body of horse, which lieutenant Maitland, at the head of Burgoyne's dragoons, attacked and routed in a few minutes. Most of the Spanish officers, including a brigadier-general, were slain in endeavouring to rally their troops. Four cannon were spiked up in their camp: their magazines were destroyed; some prisoners were taken, together with a good number of horses and mules, and a considerable quantity of valuable baggage. The loss of the English on this occasion, did not exceed ten men and horses. Immediately after this achievement, the count de la Lippe, finding it impossible to defend the passes of the mountains, assembled his forces at Macao.

The Spaniards being frustrated in their design of passing the Tagus into the province of Alentejo, partly by the vigilance and activity of the marshal count, and partly by the heavy rains which fell at this period, retired from Castel Branco, repassed the mountains, and entirely evacuated the province of Etremaadura. At the same time they dismantled the fortifications of Almeida, Castel-Rodrigo, and

The Spanish forces re-pass the mountains.

An. 1762. Castel-Borri. In the month of October, brigadier Burgoyne remained in the neighbourhood of Villavelha; the marshal count at Sardeal near Abrantes; the earl of Loudon, with four British regiments, at St. Domingo; lieutenant-general Townshend at Pamphilhosa upon the river Zizare; colonel Hamilton with a regiment of light horse at St. Vincente de Beira; and lord George Lenox with a detachment at Guarda. Such was the disposition of both armies at the close of the campaign.

Having thus given a detail of the operations in Portugal, that we might-as little as possible interrupt the thread of our narration, we shall now particularize the disposition of the several states of Europe, and then proceed to describe the progress of the war in Germany, which was still the principal object of the belligerent powers.

Disposition
of
the Dutch

The states general of the United Provinces still sat secure within the shade of their neutrality, endeavouring to allay the heats occasioned by the bickerings between their East India company and that of England. Their East India factors had published a detail of the mutual hostilities which had been committed in the river of Bengal; and this piece, which was artfully written in order to lay the blame of aggression upon the English, was fully refuted by an answer published at London, under the sanction of authentic documents. At length the directors of the Dutch company proposed an accommodation. The proposal was embraced by the English directors, and a deputation of merchants from Amsterdam were sent over to London for this purpose, which was happily

An. 1762.

happily accomplished. The merchants of Holland still murmured at the capture of their ships by the English cruisers, and, in the course of this year, loudly complained that their neutrality was again violated by a British sloop, which drove on shore and destroyed a French privateer on the coast of Scheveling: but the States were too wise to enter into the resentments of the people; they knew their merchants had provoked this treatment, by carrying on a contraband commerce ever since the beginning of the war, in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain; nor would they allow such a petty insult as that of the British cruiser, to come in competition with the friendship of the British monarch, which, therefore, they continued assiduously to cultivate.

The internal state of France was still disquieted by the dispute between the parliaments and the Jesuits. We have already observed, that the society had been condemned by arrets or decrees of the parliaments of Paris, Normandy, and Bretagne, in consequence of the doctrines which they taught and published in favour of equivocation and mental reservation, excusing regicide, homicide, perjury, profanation, impurity, and irreligion; in short, the breach of every moral duty, upon certain occasions. The edict issued by the king for suspending the execution of the sentence against the Jesuits, the parliaments refused to register. That of Paris published a new arret in April, containing extracts from the books of the Jesuits to the amount of a large quarto volume, which was presented to the king at Versailles by

Internal
state of
France.

An. 1762. the first president, at the head of twenty members. Mean while the Jesuits, relying, in all probability, on their great interest among the clergy, and their own address, which had seldom failed them, still delayed the payment which they had been condemned to make to their creditors; and in consequence of this delay, the parliament of Paris issued a new arret in the course of the same month, for sequestrating all their effects within their jurisdiction. Nevertheless, they still continued to sell their merchandize for ready money, until a guard was placed upon their college in the Rue St. Jacques; and places were appointed for taking informations concerning their effects. In a word, they were now grown into such disgrace with the people in general, and the clamour against them grew so loud, that the king found it convenient to give them up. All their colleges were seized; all their effects confiscated; and, with respect to France, the order itself was annihilated. Notwithstanding this persecution, which was certainly founded on justice, it must be owned, that the society hath produced a great number of men who have distinguished themselves by very useful improvements in the arts and sciences: that many of them have devoted their lives to the service of religion with a truly apostolical piety, encountering difficulties, hardships, mutilation, and martyrdom, with the most surprising fortitude; and that in general they exerted themselves in the education of youth with great judgment, astonishing perseverance, and remarkable success: but their ambition, art, and influence, as well as some pernicious doctrines they have

Expulsion
of the
Jesuits. 2

have espoused, must always be productive of danger and disquiet to every state in which they are established. An. 1762.

While, in the capital and some other parts of France, the parliaments were asserting the rights of reason and humanity, in opposition to sophistry and priestcraft, the judicatures at Tholouse were extending the reign of bigotry and persecution. One Francis Rochette, a protestant minister at Montauban, being apprehended and carried before the judge at Caussade, was interrogated upon oath, touching his profession, and owning the truth, was loaded with irons and committed to a dungeon. This arbitrary step produced some commotion among people who favoured Rochette; and three brothers of the name of Grenier, protestants, of an antient and noble family in the neighbourhood, happening to be at Caussade, joined their endeavours for his release. After having been fired upon by the guards before they had attempted the least violence, and cruelly mangled by dogs set upon them in their retreat, all three were apprehended and conveyed to Tholouse, together with Rochette. There they were condemned to an ignominious death, which, however, they might have avoided, if they would have changed their religion. The three brothers lost their heads upon a scaffold, and the innocent minister was hanged as a self-convicted felon. Religious persecution in Languedoc.

But the fate of John Calas, a protestant merchant of Tholouse, is still a more flagrant proof of their cruelty and blind superstition. Cruel execution of John Calas.

This venerable old man, universally esteemed and beloved for his benevolence and integrity, a warm

An. 1762. friend, a kind master, a tender husband, and indulgent father, had several sons, one of whom called Mark-Anthony, a youth of a gloomy disposition, made away with himself in the month of October of the preceding year. He had supped with his father and mother, and brother Peter, together with a young man called La Vaisse, the son of an eminent advocate at Tholouse, who had been invited to pass the evening with Calas. After supper, Mark-Anthony going down stairs, threw a bar across two folding doors of a warehouse, and from thence suspended himself so effectually, that he was dead before any person in the family could suspect his design. He was first discovered by his brother and young La Vaisse, who being shocked at the spectacle, shrieked aloud. The father, alarmed by their cries, ran down stairs, while the mother continued trembling in the passage above, without having strength either to advance or retire. The unhappy old man, seeing the fatal cause of the outcry, rushed forwards, and embracing the body of his son, the bar slipped off the folding doors, and the corpse fell upon the floor. He forthwith loosened the cord in an agony of grief and horror, and, deploring the fate of his child, dispatched his son Peter for a surgeon, exclaiming at the same time, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not divulge the report that your brother has made away with himself." Mean while the mother, deriving strength from despair, ran down stairs in the utmost distraction, and joining the rest of the family, the house was filled with cries and lamentations, which gathered a croud about the door. The surgeon examining the body found

found the mark of the cord about the neck, and declared that the deceased had been strangled. This declaration no sooner reached the populace in the street, than they began to cry out, that Mark-Anthony Calas intended to abjure the protestant heresy next day; that protestants were bound by the religion they professed, to destroy all their own children who expressed a desire to renounce their errors; that there was an executioner appointed among them for this horrid purpose; that La Vaisse was the person who at present performed this office; that he had, with the assistance of the family, executed the unhappy youth; and that the cries which they had heard, were uttered by him in his endeavours to resist the assassins. The old man being by this time joined by one or two of his friends, and perceiving the tumult and uproar increasing every moment, dispatched a messenger to the capitoul, whose name was David, one of those miscreants, who, for the misfortune of mankind, and to the disgrace of civil government, are sometimes promoted to the chief magistracy. This wretch, equally ignorant, rancorous, and inhuman, had been already alarmed, and adopting immediately all the prejudices of the vulgar, assembled a guard of forty soldiers, with whom he entered the house. The first step he took was to imprison the whole family, together with La Vaisse. Then he ordered the body to be examined by surgeons, who declared, that except the mark of the ligature upon the neck, they perceived no marks of violence; that the hair of the deceased was perfectly smooth and in good order; that his cloaths which he had pulled off

An. 1762. were regularly folded up and laid upon the counter; and that his shirt was neither torn nor unbuttoned. Notwithstanding these marks of the father's innocence, this ignorant bigot committed the old man and his son Peter to a dark dungeon; ordering at the same time the mother, La Vaisse, the servant maid Janeton, with one Casin, a friend of the family who had come in upon hearing the outcries, to be confined in a separate prison; while the dead body was carried to the Hotel-de-ville, or town-house. Next day the verbal process being taken, and no evidence appearing to the prejudice of the family, the implacable and iniquitous capitoul had recourse to a monitory, which was published, inviting all persons who knew any particular of the affair, to give testimony against the perpetrators of the supposed murder. In this monitory, the infamous magistrate recited, as undubitable truths, that the protestants were in the constant practice of putting to death their children when they seemed bent upon renouncing their errors; that La Vaisse was the person employed in these executions; that Mark-Anthony Calas certainly intended to abjure his heresy; and was therefore cruelly murdered with the assistance of his own parents. We know not whether it reflects more disgrace upon human nature in general, or upon the French nation in particular, that such an execrable caittiff should, with impunity, publish those atrocious calumnies against a set of people, who, of all religionists, have ever approved themselves the most tolerating, liberal, and humane. Even before the monitory was issued, he took care to inflame the minds of the populace,

by

by directing that the body should be buried in St. Stephen's church, with a solemn funeral procession of the White Penitents. They afterwards performed a solemn service for him in their chapel. The church was hung with white, and on a tomb erected in the middle of it was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper inscribed, *Abjuration of heresy*; and in the other, a palm, as the emblem of martyrdom. The Franciscans followed their example; so that it is no wonder that the minds of the superstitious vulgar were inflamed to the most savage degree of animosity against the unfortunate Calas. Though the monitory produced no proof, the capitoul brought the whole family to trial, when, in defiance of all probability and presumption of innocence, he condemned to the torture the father, mother, brother, friend, and even the maid servant, who was known to be a rigid catholic: as for Casin, he was set at liberty, on proving that he had not entered the house until the son was strangled and dead. From this dreadful sentence, the prisoners appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, annulled the proceedings of the capitoul, as irregular, and continued the prosecution. They seemed, however, to be actuated by the same spirit of cruelty and fanaticism. At the trial, the common executioner of Tholouse gave it as his opinion upon oath, that the son could not possibly have hanged himself as it was alledged, upon the folding doors of the warehouse; another witness deposed, that looking through the key-hole of the door into a dark room of the prisoner's house, he saw several men running
hastily

An.1762. hastily to and fro, with marks of eagerness and trepidation; a third declared he had been informed by his wife, that a woman called Mandril had assured her, from the information of a certain person unknown, that the cries of Mark-Anthony Calas were heard at the farther end of the city. Such was the evidence that, in the opinion of this vile tribunal, weighed against the characters of old Calas and his family; their grief, distraction, and eagerness to discover the death of their son, which they were supposed to have effected; against the testimony of their maid servant, who had given very extraordinary proofs of her attachment to the catholic religion; against the disposition of the deceased, who was proved to have been subject to fits of melancholy, to have frequently argued in favour of suicide, though he was never known to harbour the least doubts about his own religion, or to have uttered the least expression in favour of the Roman catholic faith. On the contrary, he had chosen to forfeit all the advantages arising from the practice of the law to which he had been bred, rather than demand a certificate from the curé, without which he could not exercise his profession; because he thought such certificates, though usually demanded and given, implied an indifference towards the protestant religion*. One La Bordé, who presided at

* A protestant, before he can fill any post, or exercise any civil profession in France, must produce a certificate of his having been at confession;

and such certificates are frequently purchased of some mercenary curé, by persons who have neither abjured nor confessed.

the trial, and seems to have espoused all the popular prejudices, voted that old Calas should suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, for the discovery of his accomplices; then be broken alive upon the wheel; to remain in this dreadful situation for two hours before he should receive the final stroke; and that his body should be burned to ashes. This opinion was espoused by the majority: one member only had sense, candour, and spirit enough to vote that the prisoner should be acquitted. As for the supposed accomplices, their fate was suspended until they should see the result of the torture in the father's confession: a circumstance which throws the most glaring absurdity on the face of their proceedings; for, if the father was guilty, the others could not possibly be innocent. This venerable martyr bore his fate with such primitive simplicity of piety and fortitude, as even excited the admiration of his persecutors. He uttered but one shriek when he received the first stroke, after which he made no complaint. While he lay stretched upon the wheel, expecting the last favour of the executioner, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence, expressing at the same time a charitable regard for the judges by whom he had been condemned. In this deplorable situation he was again insulted by the furious capitoul, who, with an implacability truly infernal, not only feasted his rancour in viewing the agonies of this innocent victim, but, advancing to the wheel, exclaimed, "Wretch, behold the faggots which will reduce thy body to ashes: now is the time to confess the truth." To this shocking address the old man

An. 1762. made no reply; but, turning aside his head, was delivered from his misery by the last stroke of the executioner. The behaviour of this worthy man, from the moment of his condemnation to his last breath, was so composed and exemplary, that father Bourges, a Dominican professor of divinity, and father Caldaques his colleague, who were appointed to attend and assist him in his last moments, bestowed the warmest eulogiums on his memory, declaring themselves edified by his manly fortitude and christian charity. The judges thought fit to suppress the trial: but, that they might act with uniform absurdity through the whole affair, they banished the son Peter for life, and released the rest of the prisoners. If La Vaissé was innocent, his evidence ought to have been admitted in favour of the old man, whom he had never left one moment during the whole transaction; in which case the unfortunate Calas must have been honourably acquitted. The hapless widow and the other sufferers had recourse to the clemency of the king, who ordered the proceedings to be revised by the council of state at Versailles, that in case Calas should be found innocent, the sentence might be reversed, and the family restored to the character and rights of which it had been so unjustly deprived: but, in order to vindicate their country from the reproach of such barbarity and oppression, it were to be wished they had contrived some method for inflicting exemplary punishment on the authors of such infamous proceedings.

The ministry of France seems to have been at this period embarrassed, both in the conduct of their
internal

internal oeconomy, and in their external tranſactions. Conſidering the unfortunate events of the war, the recent loſs of Martinique and Grenada, the formidable naval power of Great Britain, the ruin of their commerce, the bankruptcies of their merchants, the checks they had received in Germany, and the general murmurs of their people, it cannot be ſuppoſed but that they would have gladly liſtened to equitable terms of accommodation. In the mean time, excluſive of their ſchemes in Portugal, they reſolved to make freſh efforts in Weſtphalia, and actually formed a camp in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, with a view to keep the coaſt of England in continual alarm; but this expedient had at preſent very little effect. At the ſame time ſeveral communities of the kingdom engaged to build ſhips of war for the king's ſervice; and large ſums were ſubſcribed by individuals for the ſame purpoſe. After the concluſion of the laſt campaign, the court of Verſailles became the ſcene of intrigues, between the prince of Soubiſe and the marſhal duke de Broglio, who accuſed each other, and, in all appearance, were both equally guilty of having retarded and impeded the operations of the laſt campaign, by their mutual jealousies and animosity. In this civil conteſt, the prince de Soubiſe, being ſupported by the intereſt of madame de Pompadour, gained a complete victory over his rival, who was deprived of his command, and, together with his brother, baniſhed from court, to the great mortification of the people, who conſidered the marſhal as a general of ſuperior talents. It was now reſolved that the prince de Soubiſe ſhould command

An. 1762.
The
French
king's
plan of
opera-
tions in
Weſtpha-
lia.

An. 1762. command the army in Westphalia, in conjunction with the count d'Estrees, who was esteemed an excellent officer; and that another army should be assembled on the Lower Rhine, under the command of the prince de Conde, whose high rank was not the greatest of his qualifications.

Negligence of the Spanish ministry.

The king of Spain was so intent upon the Portuguese war, that he seems to have taken little pains in securing his West Indian settlements from the resentment of Great Britain, which he had so injudiciously provoked. True it is, the moment his council resolved upon a war with England, he sent three ships of war, with four transports, having on board two battalions of troops, with artillery and ammunition from Ferrol to the West Indies; and dispatched several vessels with advice of the rupture to his American colonies; but considering the risque of their being intercepted by the British cruisers, who covered the sea, he ought not to have rushed precipitately into the war, until his settlements had been put into a proper posture of defence, and every other necessary precaution had been taken. The neglect of these measures, and even the delay of the flota, which was not yet arrived, form a strong presumption that the rupture with England was not premeditated; and that the last negotiation was founded on a sincere desire of peace. The thinking part of the Spanish nation, particularly those engaged in commerce, made no scruple of murmuring at a war in which the interests of a whole people were so evidently sacrificed to the family connexions and private attachments of their prince.

After

After the close of the last campaign, some attempts had been made to restore the good understanding between the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, towards the formation of a general plan of pacification. Whatever moderation the house of Austria affected on this occasion, it was not without a sanguine hope of terminating the war greatly to its advantage, now that she was in possession of Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, and her allies the Russians had acquired a sea-port in the Baltic, and established their winter quarters in Pomerania. Indeed, at this period, the king of Prussia, notwithstanding all his activity, experience, and resources, seemed to totter on the brink of ruin; therefore could not be supposed any longer averse to peace, especially as a change was made in the system of Great Britain, which had been hitherto so favourable to his designs.

Those clouds, however, that hung over him with such portentous aspect, were suddenly dispersed by one of those unexpected events which influence the fate of nations, after all the means of human foresight and exertion have failed. Elizabeth, empress of Russia, daughter of the Czar Peter Alexiowitz, died on the second day of January, in the sixty-third year of her age. She was a princess of moderate talents, who had governed Russia with an easy sway, maintaining at the same time its importance among the nations, by a numerous army and well regulated oeconomy. Her reign was not disgraced by those brutal executions that used to characterize the barbarity of the Muscovite government. In her private character she was not cruel; but particular foibles

An. 1762.
Disposition of
the courts
of Vienna
and
Berlin.

Death of
the Czar-
rina.

An.1762. foibles of mind and constitution are said to have hurried her into certain excesses, which, towards the latter part of her life, exposed her to the contempt of her subjects. The political interest of her empire coincided with her personal animosity, in the war with Prussia, by which alone she could have any reasonable prospect of making such an establishment in Germany, as should give her a title to interfere in the affairs of the empire; an object which had ever engrossed the attention and influenced the conduct of her father.

Succe-
sion of
the Czar
Peter III.

She was succeeded on the throne by her nephew Charles-Peter Ulric, a prince of the house of Holstein, who had been created grand duke of Russia, and declared heir apparent to that empire. This new Czar, who ascended the throne by the name of Peter III. was a prince of weak intellects, whose conduct had been ever unguarded and irregular. Though he had renounced the protestant faith, and embraced the Greek religion, when he was called as successor to the crown of Muscovy, he made no secret of his contempt of the Russian ceremonies, and seized all opportunities of mortifying their clergy. He had espoused a princess of the house of Anhalt-Zerbst, by whom he had a son living: but he lived upon ill terms with his consort, who was subtle, insinuating, politic, vindictive, and resolute; and this division in his private family was the chief source of his misfortunes. He openly maintained an amorous correspondence with the countess of Woronzoff; and his remarkable attachment to this lady furnished a pretext for diffusing a report that he intended to raise her to the throne,

after

after having confined his empress to a convent. An. 1762.
 Whatever his views might have been in this respect, he certainly began his reign under the most favourable auspices, acting, in many particulars, on the most prudential maxims that the most sagacious prince could have espoused. He enfranchised the Russian noblesse, declaring, that for the future, they should be intitled to the same rank and privileges that were enjoyed by the noblesse in any other country of Europe. He recalled count Biron, count Munich, and count Lestock, who had been banished to Siberia, for their adherence to the Infant Czar John, son of the princess of Mecklenbourg, dethroned at the accession of the last empress. He abolished the private chancery, which was a sort of state-inquisition, and lightened the burthen of some taxes on the necessaries of life, which were very grievous to the body of his people. These were undoubtedly very popular measures, and would have produced happy effects in his favour, had not they been overbalanced by other parts of his conduct, which favoured strongly of caprice and temerity. On the very threshold of his administration, he discovered a childish admiration of his Prussian majesty. He forthwith concluded a suspension of arms with that monarch. He solicited and received a commission in the Prussian army: he was already a knight of the Prussian order, the badge of which he constantly wore. He appeared publicly in the Prussian uniform, to the unspeakable mortification of the Russian guards, who, like the prætorian cohorts at Rome, had effected the last revolution; and he introduced

An. 1762. the Prussian discipline into his army, who did not, without murmuring, adopt the manners and exercise of a nation, which they had so long and so lately detested and opposed as their most inveterate enemies.

His pacific declaration to his allies.

As early as the month of February, he delivered to the Imperial, French, Polish, and Swedish ministers at Petersburg, a declaration, in writing, expressing his desire of putting an end to the effusion of blood; announcing his readiness to sacrifice to this aim the conquests which the arms of Russia had made; exhorting his allies to imitate his moderation, and employ all their power to re-establish the peace of Europe. In answer to this declaration, the empress-queen professed a disposition to concur with him in such a desirable work, desiring he would impart to her any proposals of peace which he might have received, that she and the rest of the allies might co-operate with his laudable design, provided the terms were such as her honour would admit. The answer of the French king was much to the same purpose; and he moreover observed, that no duty was more incumbent on a prince, than a punctual performance of engagements, and a scrupulous fidelity to allies. The king of Poland proposed a general congress for treating of a pacification. He reminded the Czar that Saxony had been attacked and ruined merely on account of its connexion with the Russian empire; and expressed his hope of the Czar's taking care that, in the first place, his electorate should be evacuated by those enemies who had reduced it to the brink of ruin, by exorbitant contributions, as well

well as by the alienation of revenues and funds appropriated to the payment of public debts formerly contracted. As for Sweden, she had never entered heartily into the war, and now adopted without regret the pacific sentiments of Russia.

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The Czar, however, payed very little regard to the remonstrances made by the other powers of the confederacy. On the fifth day of May, a treaty of peace between Russia and Prussia was signed at Petersburg; another between Prussia and Sweden was ratified on the twenty-fifth of the same month; and this produced a reconciliation between his Prussian majesty and the duke of Mecklenburg. In consequence of these events, all the Prussian troops employed in Pomerania, Brandenburg, and the country of Mecklenburg, were at liberty to join their king in Silesia, or his brother in Saxony. This was not all the advantage which the Prussian monarch derived from his treaty with the Czar. The body of Russian troops commanded by general Czernichew, which had hitherto acted as auxiliaries to the Austrians, were ordered to join the Prussian army, and this junction was actually effected; so that one campaign saw them serve in opposite interests, committing hostilities against their former friends, in favour of those whom they had hitherto combated with all the marks of implacable animosity. While the emperor of Russia thus cultivated the good graces of his Prussian ally, whom he actually proposed to visit in person, he did not allow this object to engross his whole attention.

His treaty with the king of Prussia.

His cares were divided between a plan of domestic reformation, and the project of a war with

He resolves upon a war with Denmark.

An. 1762. Denmark, in order to recover the entire dominion and revenue of Holstein, his native country, which was shared by the Danish king, whose claim, tho' originally oppressive, had been confirmed by a treaty. The Czar considered the treaty itself as an oppression, in which the necessity of his father's affairs had obliged him to acquiesce; and now he resolved to employ the power of Russia to vindicate the independency of his hereditary dominions.

The king of Denmark, without suffering himself to be dismayed by the power of his adversary, began to make preparations for defending himself against the impending storm. He augmented his army and navy, putting his frontiers in a posture of defence; and well-knowing that money formed the sinews of war, he fell upon a method of obtaining a considerable sum, which perhaps it would not be found an easy task to justify. He had ever kept alive his pretensions to a claim of sovereignty over the city of Hamburgh, which being, at this period, enriched in consequence of the war in Germany, he forthwith resolved to lay under contribution. In the month of June, he suddenly appeared at their gates at the head of a strong body of forces, and seizing the suburbs, demanded an immediate loan of a million of rix-dollars, on pain of investing them with all the horrors of war. The magistrates being in no condition to support a siege, assembled the senate, and after due deliberation, they determined to grant the supply which his Danish majesty required. Their compliance was followed by the immediate retreat of their disagreeable guests.

While the king of Denmark took those bold and vigorous measures for the support of his own interest, the Czar continued to shock the prejudices, and excite the indignation of his Russian subjects. He was seized with a rash spirit of reformation, which is a rock upon which a prince will infallibly split, unless he is sustained by uncommon courage and a well established authority. In all probability he was fired with the ambition of imitating the first Peter, who shone more illustrious as the reformer of his barbarous subjects, than as the conqueror of the Swedish monarch: but then he did not begin his innovations, until he had attained the very summit of reputation and authority, by his wonderful conduct and capacity, and impressed the minds of his subjects with the most sublime ideas of his character. The present Czar was a foreigner by birth, a circumstance always unfavourable for a prince in the opinion of his subjects; and he was at no pains to conceal his predilection for his native country. To this object he now sacrificed the conquests and the interests of Russia. In distinguishing the Holstein guards by his particular favour and attention, he disgusted and incensed the Russian guards, who had been remarkably cultivated by the late Czarina, as the troops to whom she owed her elevation to the throne. He not only caressed the Holstein guards, but he promoted officers of that country in his service, and was said to discover, on all occasions, an impolitic partiality for foreigners in general. To these articles of misconduct, he added another of still more dangerous consequence. He incurred the resentment of the clergy, first, by his contemp-

An. 1762.
He dis-
obliges
the sub-
jects of
Russia.

An. 1762. tuous indifference for the Greek religion : secondly, by making certain regulations in their churches, touching their images and pictures : thirdly, in depriving the priests of their beards, which they did not resign without rage and horror : and lastly, by seizing upon the revenues belonging to the bishops and monasteries, and inferior clergy, for which he allowed mean pensions that did not amount to one third of their former income. Having thus disgusted his army, disoblged his nobles, exasperated his clergy, and injured his conduct, he could not fail to incur the danger of a conspiracy, in a country of savages prone to vengeance and accustomed to revolution.

A conspiracy formed against him, under the auspices of his wife.

The empress, perceiving the large strides he was making towards the detestation and contempt of his Russian subjects, took care to detach herself entirely from his counsels ; to cultivate the good graces of the nation in general, by her affability and good offices ; to profess an ardent zeal for the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church, though she too had been bred a Lutheran : in a word, to establish an independent interest in favour of herself and her son, the grand duke Paul Petrowitz, whom his father had not yet nominated to the succession. A conspiracy was accordingly formed by Rosamoufsky, herman, or chief of the Cossacks, who are generally employed on such occasions, in conjunction with Panin, who was governor to the great duke, marshal Butturlin, the chamberlain Teplov, the attorney-general Glebow, baron Orlov, major of the guards, and some of the nobility. They communicated their designs to the clergy, who

who contributed all their influence towards the deposition of a prince whom they dreaded and detested. They secured the concurrence of the guards and other forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburg; they held consultations for taking all the previous steps for the execution of their plan; and at length the senate and clergy were actually assembled to pass the sentence of the Czar's deposition, before that unfortunate prince had the least intimation of their design; a certain proof that the affections of his subjects were wholly alienated.

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On the twenty-eighth day of June, the empress being at her own country seat of Petershoff, in the skirts of Petersburg, received intelligence that the design was declared. She forthwith mounted a horse, and riding at full speed to the capital, harangued the guards, who immediately proclaimed her empress of all the Russias, by the name of Catherine II. declaring, at the same time, her husband dethroned. After this ceremony, she repaired to the church of Kasansky, where, divine service being performed, the senate and the grandees, including the conspirators, took the oath of allegiance. Then she appeared on horseback, in the uniform of the guards, and putting herself at the head of the forces, began her march for the country palace of Oranjebaum, where the Czar had been for some days indulging his indolence in the most profound security. He had that very day, however, gone to Petershoff, in order to dine with the empress; and understanding that she had set out early in the morning for Petersburg, he dispatched several couriers, one after another, to know the cause of her departure.

He is deposed, and she ascends the throne.

An. 1762. departure. These did not return; but some soldiers, disguised like peasants, arrived at Petershoff, and informed him of what had happened. In the first hurry of his trepidation, he embarked in a yacht for Cronstadt, in hope of escaping by sea; but finding the gates shut against him, he returned to Oranjebaum, and made some preparations for defence. He assembled some peasants, and began to throw up an intrenchment, which he declared he would defend with his Holstein guards: but, the empress advancing at the head of ten thousand regular forces, with a train of artillery, his guards were dismayed, and threw down their arms. In this situation, he had nothing to do but to submit: he delivered his sword to an officer, whom the empress had sent with a message, exhorting him to submission; and being put into a coach, was conducted to Petershoff. His behaviour on this occasion was weak and pusillanimous. He, in a letter to the empress, renounced the reins of government, and all pretensions to the empire, intreating leave to return to Holstein, with the countess of Woronzoff, and one single friend. This, however, was a favour which she could not grant with any regard to her own interest; and his mentioning the countess was an insult upon her honour. He was required to sign an unconditional resignation of the crown; and he actually signed a paper prepared for this purpose, which was immediately made public. In this he acknowledged his own incapacity to govern Russia: that his misconduct must have not only covered himself with disgrace; but likewise have occasioned the total ruin of the empire: he therefore abdicated

abdicated the throne, declaring, before God, that his abdication was not the effect of compulsion; but of the sense he had of his own unworthiness.

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Having thus acted as the assassin of his own character, he was sequestered from all communication, and committed to close prison, where he did not long languish in the horrors of captivity. In seven days he was released by death; and no body was surprised at the event, which was indeed the natural consequence of his deposition. The new empress was no sooner proclaimed, than she published a short manifesto, implying, that she had ascended the throne, at the earnest desire of the people, to save the empire from that ruin to which it was exposed from the misconduct and pernicious principles of her husband. She observed, that the foundations of the orthodox Greek religion had been shaken; and that there was great reason to fear a design had been formed to introduce a foreign faith into the empire: that the glory of Russia had been trampled under foot by the late peace with its most inveterate enemy; and that the domestic regulations of the country had been totally overturned. At the same time, formal notice of her accession to the throne was given to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg.

Peter dies suddenly in prison.

In a few days after this strange revolution, another manifesto appeared, which in fact was a most virulent satire on the character of the deposed Czar, whose foibles and misconduct were painted in the most glaring colours of exaggeration. In this detail of his errors and vices, he was likewise charged with a design upon the life of the empress; as well

Declaration of the new empress.

An. 1762. as with a settled scheme for setting aside the succession of his own son; though no facts were specified to give a probability either to the one or to the other. Finally, Catherine II. thought it convenient to appeal once more to the public, on occasion of her husband's death. She declared that he was carried off by a hæmorrhoidal discharge, to which he had been formerly subject: that his decease had overwhelmed her with affliction; and that she had ordered his body to be buried in the monastery of Newsky. She exhorted her faithful subjects to pay the last duties to his remains; to pray to God for the repose of his soul; and to consider his death as a special effect of the Divine Providence.

Whether these declarations are of weight sufficient to influence the reflections which must have occurred to every sensible mind, upon this remarkable event, we shall not pretend to determine. We shall only observe, that Peter seems to have been weak, but not wicked, and therefore might have been reclaimed or restricted, without forfeiting the crown. He might have been removed from the throne, without suffering any violence in his person. Though the murder of a weak sovereign may, perhaps, be justified by the savage policy of a barbarous nation, it will ever be deemed a detestable act, by every person of sentiment and humanity; and it is the duty of an historian, to fix the mark of eternal infamy upon the perpetrators, howsoever dignified they may be by the success of usurpation.

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The Czarina being, by the death of her husband, freed from the dread of competition, began her reign with such measures as were well adapted to the establishment of her throne. She ingratiated herself with her new subjects, by sending away the Holstein-guards, and dismissing all the foreigners from her service. She restored the clergy to their possessions, and allowed their beards to grow without molestation. She made particular court to the Russian guards, and often wore their regimentals, in imitation of the late empress; and she conferred all the great posts of the empire on the natives of Muscovy. In her first manifesto she seems to have espoused the resentments of the Russian people, who were generally averse to his Prussian majesty: but, upon further deliberation, it was found convenient to avoid a foreign war, and concentrate all her forces in her own dominions, in case of any domestic disturbance, or attempt against her government. She therefore determined to keep measures with the Prussian monarch, to whose ministers she declared her resolution to observe inviolably the peace concluded with him under the preceding reign; though at the same time she had thought proper to recall her troops from Pomerania and Silesia: this moderation towards the king of Prussia, against whom the Russian senate was much incensed in the beginning, is said to have been owing to the discovery of some letters which the king had written to the late Czar at his accession. They contained so much wholesome advice, and exhorted him so warmly to respect his consort, as well as to consult the true interests of his empire, that the animosity of the empress

She adheres to the peace with Prussia.

An. 1762. empress and her friends was converted to sentiments of gratitude, and they generously restored Colberg with the other places which their troops had taken in Pomerania. This may have had some effect in strengthening the other substantial reasons for avoiding fresh hostilities with Prussia; and in all probability they were corroborated by the remonstrances and advices of Great Britain, with whose monarch the Czarina was connected by the ties of consanguinity.

and accommodates matters with the king of Denmark.

As the interests of Holstein were no longer considered at Petersburg, the war between Russia and Denmark was stifled in embryo. The Danish monarch had seized upon the port of Travemunde, belonging to the city of Lubeck, and his army advanced into the country of Mecklenburg: but, in July, a congress had been opened at Berlin, under the mediation of the king of Prussia, for adjusting the differences between Denmark and the duke of Holstein. The new empress, however, when she recalled her troops from Silesia, sent orders to the forces which were advancing against the Danes, to return to Colberg. The congress was broke up; the plenipotentiaries retired to their respective countries; and thus the flames that threatened to kindle a new war in the north of Germany, were happily extinguished*.

* In the month of August, the Russian minister at Mitau, signified to the regency of Courland, that the empress insisted upon their deposing prince Charles of Saxony, who had been created

duke of Courland, by the late Czarina, and on their reinstating their former sovereign count Biron, whose pretensions she was determined to support with the whole power of her empire.

After

After this succinct account of the surprizing revolution in Russia, and its immediate consequences, it will be necessary to particularize the transactions of the war in Germany. An. 1762.

In the beginning of the year, the Austrian and Prussian armies remained very quiet in their winter quarters: but prince Henry, who commanded the troops in Saxony, extended his forces, in January, by driving the Imperial army to a greater distance, and occupying Naumburg, Zeitz, Altenburg, and Gera. On the other hand, the Imperial and Saxon troops dislodged the Prussians in February, from the post of Lamatch, and burned the magazine which had been transported thither from Magdeburg. In the beginning of May, this active prince unexpectedly passing the Mulda in three columns, at Roswen, Dolbeling, and Leisnig, surprised the left wing of the Imperial and Austrian army; on which occasion, general Zetwitz was taken, with twelve officers, fifteen hundred men, and three pieces of cannon. After this exploit, the prince made himself master of Freyberg, where he found a considerable magazine. In the beginning of June, his out-posts were suddenly attacked by the Austrians, who had been reinforced for that purpose; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. Motions of the Prussians in Saxony

His Prussian majesty, who wintered at Breslau, employed this season as usual, in recruiting his army by forcing men into his service, and in exacting heavy contributions from the countries of Saxony and Mecklenburg. He had for some time been accustomed, not only to these measures, but also to the practice of debasing the coin, and oblig- Situation of the armies in Silesia.

An. 1762. ing the people to take it at its former estimation ; an expedient of oppression which nothing but the most urgent necessity can excuse. Mean while the main body of his army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Bresslau ; while that of the Austrians, under count Daun, occupied several strong eminences, that enabled him to communicate with Schweidnitz, which was considered as the Prussian's chief object.

The Prussian monarch cuts off the communication between the Austrian army and Schweidnitz,

About the latter end of June, the Russian troops under general Czernichew, passing the Oder, joined the Prussian army, in consequence of the late treaty between the king and the Czar Peter. Thus reinforced, his majesty took possession of the heights of Sackwitz ; and this motion obliged count Daun to retire in the night to the hills of Kuntzendorff. The king continued to advance, and dislodged the Austrians from several hills ; but his attack upon the hill of Engel, defended by general Brentano, proved ineffectual. Count Daun, however, thought proper to decamp from Kuntzendorff, and take post at Tanhausen, in order to protect his magazine at Friedland, and preserve his communication with Bohemia, into which the Prussian general Weid actually penetrated with a detachment, as far as Weisse. Marshal Daun no sooner abandoned the hills of Kuntzendorff, than they, together with the heights of Ziesken and Justenstein, were occupied by the Prussian forces ; thus all communication was cut off between Schweidnitz and the Austrian army. In the midst of these transactions, many skirmishes were fought with various success, by detached parties, which scoured the open country

in

in Austria, Silesia, and Moravia, as well as in An.1762.
Bohemia.

The king of Prussia did not long enjoy the benefit of his new auxiliaries. The revolution in Russia was no sooner effected, than the troops were recalled; and about the twenty-third day of July, general Czernichew quitting the Prussian camp, began his march for Posen. Nevertheless, the king still found himself in a condition to undertake the siege of Schweidnitz, which he actually invested in the beginning of August. In the night between the seventh and eighth, the trenches were opened, and the operations of the siege carried on with such vigour, that by the fourteenth, nine batteries played against the place. Schweidnitz was undoubtedly strong, both by nature and art, and moreover defended by a numerous garrison, who exerted themselves with courage and activity: but such was the determined resolution of the besieger, and so formidable was the provision he had made for this enterprize, that the Austrian general thought it necessary to make some bold attempt to disturb him in his operations. The Prussian infantry were encamped on the heights behind Schweidnitz. The cavalry formed a chain in the plains of Keintzerdorff, extending to a detached corps, under the prince of Wirtemberg, so situated as to prevent any interruption from the county of Glatz; and the prince of Bevern, with another strong corps, was encamped at Guttmanndorff near Reickenbach.

the siege
of which
he under-
takes.

These dispositions were made to protect the convoys, as well as to frustrate any attempts which might be made for the relief of Schweidnitz. On the

An. 1762.
He gains
an advan-
tage over
general
Laudohn.

the sixteenth day of August, the Austrian generals Laudohn, O'Donnel, and Beck, were detached with thirty three battalions, and eighteen regiments of cavalry, to attack the post of the prince of Bevern, and they executed their orders with great resolution and vivacity: but the prince, being upon his guard, maintained his ground without flinching, until the king arrived in person, with eight battalions of infantry, and a strong body of dragoons and hussars. These falling upon the Austrian cavalry, soon routed them with considerable slaughter, upon which Laudohn desisted from his attack, and retreated towards Silberberg, with the loss of two thousand men killed or taken by the enemy.

Surrender of
Schweid-
nitz.

After this victory the king returned to the siege, which he prosecuted with redoubled attention; while general Guasco, who commanded the garrison, with the assistance of two able engineers, left no step untaken which could retard his progress. Repeated sallies were made with considerable effect; mines were sprung, breaches repaired, and the fire from the ramparts was maintained with great spirit and perseverance. Count Daun found it impossible to take any effectual measures for the relief of this fortress; yet in Saxony, the Imperial and Austrian troops under general Haddick, by three successive attacks upon the Prussian posts, obliged prince Henry to evacuate Zwickau, Chemnitz, and Wilsdruff. Encouraged by this gleam of success, he made an attempt upon the front of the prince's army; but met with a severe repulse.

In the night, between the eighth and ninth of October, the besiegers of Schweidnitz sprung a mine; in consequence of which, great part of the wall was thrown into the ditch, and a disposition was made for a general assault. In this emergency general Guasco, perceiving it would be madness to hazard the lives of his soldiers to no purpose, ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war.

The king, having taken possession of this fortress, which had been taken four times since the commencement of the war, sent a strong reinforcement to his brother in Saxony, and returned to his former quarters at Peterwald. Before this reinforcement arrived, the prince of Stolberg and general Haddick attacked the Prussian general Belling, who was posted in the wood of Rats, from whence he was dislodged after two successive actions, in which a great number were lost on both sides. The Prussians, after a most obstinate defence, were not only driven from the wood, but also obliged to abandon Freyberg, with the loss of nine pieces of cannon, seven colours, a considerable quantity of stores, and about a thousand men taken prisoners, exclusive of those who fell in the action. The victors having taken possession of Freyberg, general Haddick repaired to Dresden.

Advantage gained by the Imperial and Austrian troops in Saxony.

Their triumph was of short duration. On the twenty-ninth day of October, prince Henry of Prussia, even before the arrival of the reinforcement from Silesia, attacked the Imperial and Austrian forces under the command of prince Stolberg. The action began at day-break, and lasted till two in the

Prince Henry obtains a victory over the Imperial army.

An. 1762. afternoon, when the enemy being entirely routed, abandoned the field of battle and the town of Freyberg, with the loss of five thousand prisoners, thirty cannon, and many colours and standards. They retired to Plauen, complaining that they were betrayed by the perfidy of an officer, who had, during this whole campaign, discovered their dispositions to the Prussian general. He was at last detected by an intercepted letter, directed to general Kleist, and conducted under a strong guard from Dippoldeswalde to Dresden. In the beginning of November, the king of Prussia joined his brother in Saxony, leaving a strong garrison in Schweidnitz, under the command of major-general Knoblock, and his army in Silesia, to the conduct of the prince of Bevern, whose camp formed a chain on the mountains from Steinfeiffendorff to Borsdorff, while part of the cavalry encamped on the plain. General Werner was detached with a small corps into the Upper Silesia. As for marshal Daun, he sent a large detachment into the same country, and reinforced the Austrian troops in Saxony, he himself remaining at Scharffnick, in the county of Glatz. Immediately after the victory at Freyberg, a detachment of Prussians, under the command of general Kleist, made an irruption into Bohemia, ravaging the country to the very gates of Prague, and destroyed several Austrian magazines of great value.

Suspension of
hostilities
in Silesia.

The consternation occasioned by the success of this partisan, in all probability induced the court of Vienna to acquiesce in a suspension of arms, proposed by the king of Prussia, for the respective
armies

An. 1762.

armies in Silesia, to remain in force during the winter. This being accordingly concluded, the Austrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter quarters, in hope of enjoying some repose, which, however, was of very short duration.

Contributions raised by the Prussians.

General Kleist immediately marched at the head of a strong body of forces into Franconia, where he compelled a great number of men to engage in the king's service, and laid the whole country under exorbitant contributions. From the city of Nuremberg alone, they exacted three hundred thousand crowns, and carried off from thence twelve fine brass cannon, with six waggon loads of arms and ammunition. The king, being resolved on these measures, had declared by his minister to the diet assembled at Ratisbon, that as all his former remonstrances to the states of the empire had produced no effect, he was determined to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Austrian army: that he had ordered one body of his forces to enter Franconia; another to take the route of Suabia, and a third to penetrate into Bavaria: that they should every where conduct themselves according to the exigencies of war: but that the diet of the empire should not be disturbed. The contributions raised in the course of these incursions are said to have amounted to the sum which he had for some years annually received as a subsidy from the court of Great Britain.

Had the states of the empire acted with that vigour which their situation required, they would not have confined themselves to the ineffectual proportions of troops, which they were obliged to furnish

An. 1762. by the constitutions of the empire; but they would have exerted their whole power in restraining within proper bounds a formidable prince, who payed so little regard to the liberties of his co-estates and the tranquillity of the empire.

Cam-
paign in
West-
phalia.

In Westphalia, the campaign was also fruitful of events, and productive of much bloodshed, some of which might have been spared, if more regard had been payed to the dictates of reason and humanity. The design of the enemy was to keep possession of Hesse, and extend their conquests into the electorate of Hanover, where they still retained the town of Goettingen, which they had been at great pains and expence to fortify. The business of prince Ferdinand was to stop their progress, and if possible, drive them back to the banks of the Mayne.

In the beginning of March, before the armies took the field, a detachment of four thousand men from the French garrison of Goettingen, made a forced march to the posts of Gittel and Kahlfeldt, in hope of surprising the east chain of the allied cantonments; but the troops retired from these places so seasonably, that the enemy could only make a small impression on their rear, and next day returned to their quarters. Immediately after this attempt, the east chain of the allies was strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand men, who took post at Eimbeck.

In April, general Luckner, a famous Hanoverian partisan, obtained an advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Goettingen, at the head of eighteen hundred horse and two thousand infantry

infantry, to intercept the other in one of his excursions: but Luckner, receiving intelligence of his design, procured a strong reinforcement of horse, with which he fell upon the marquis unexpectedly, and obliged him to retire into Goettingen with great precipitation and considerable loss. About the same time major Wintzingerode, commander of the Hessian hussars, made a party of French irregulars prisoners at Eichsfeld. In the course of the same month, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a strong detachment, with a train of artillery, invested the castle of Arensberg, situated on one of the heads of the Roer, which the French had occupied, in order to preserve a communication between their forces on the Rhine, and those they had upon the Weser. In a few hours after the batteries of the besiegers began to play, the castle was set on fire, and the flames raged with such violence, that monsieur de Muret, with his garrison of two hundred and thirty men, were obliged to leap over the walls, and surrender at discretion. After this exploit, the prince made a progress as far as Elvervelt and Solingen, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, and met with considerable success in levying recruits and contributions.

The French generals, Soubise and d'Estrées, arriving at Franckfort in April, assembled their forces in May, on the banks of the Weser, while the prince of Condé commanded a separate army at Dusseldorp, on the Lower Rhine. Prince Ferdinand, with the main body of the allies, lay encamped behind the Dymel, to oppose the progress of the two marshals; the hereditary prince was posted with a

An. 1762.

The
battle of
Graeben-
stein.

considerable corps, in the bishopric of Munster, to watch the motions of the prince of Condé; and general Luckner, with a third detachment, encamped near Embcke on the Leine, to observe prince Xavier of Saxony, who had taken post with a corps de reserve, between the river Wesra and the town of Gottingen. The French camp of the marshals being situated between Graebenstein and Meimbren, prince Ferdinand made a disposition for attacking them on the twenty-fourth day of June, and the plan was executed accordingly. General Luckner, leaving his Hessian hussars to amuse prince Xavier and conceal his route, marched from Hollenstadt on the twenty-third in the morning, passed the Weser in the evening, and by three o'clock next morning, formed between Mariendorff and Udenhausen. At four, general Sporcken passed the Dymel at Sielem, with twelve battalions of Hanoverians, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, and advanced between Nombren and Udenhausen, with a view to attack the enemy's flank at Carlsdorff, while Luckner should charge them in the rear. At the same time prince Ferdinand, passing the river with twelve British battalions, eleven of the Brunswic troops, eight regiments of Hessians, with the English cavalry, and part of the German horse of the left wing, drew them up, in order, behind the ponds of Kasse. The vanguard on the left was formed by the piquets of the army, and that on the right by the chasseurs of the English, and German infantry, commanded by lord Frederick Cavendish, and Freytag's Hanoverian chasseurs, who had orders to seize upon the moun-
tain

An. 1762.

tain of Langenberg. The marquis of Granby, who commanded the body of the reserve, passed the Dymel at Warburg, and marched by Zieremberg and Ziebershausen, upon an eminence opposite to Furstenwalde, in order to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. Though they had no intimation of this design, until the allies were in sight, monsieur de Castries, who commanded an advanced post at Carlsdorff, retreated to their main army in good order. The marshals finding themselves unexpectedly attacked with great impetuosity in front, flank, and rear, at the same time, were not a little embarrassed, and soon resolved to retire. Their tents were immediately struck, and they began their retreat, which, considering the ardour with which they were attacked, would in all probability have ended in a total defeat, had not Mr. de Stainville, at the head of a chosen body, sacrificed them to the safety of the army. This gallant officer threw himself into the woods of Wilhemstahl, with the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, the regiment of Aquitaine, and some other troops that constituted the flower of the French infantry. With these he made a noble stand, effectually covering the retreat of the marshals, who retired under the cannon of Cassel, and part of their forces passed the Fulda in the utmost precipitation. Lord Granby attacked the troops of Stainville with his usual impetuosity; and the whole body was either killed or taken, except two battalions that found means to escape. Upon this occasion the allies took near three thousand prisoners, including two hundred officers, together with some standards

An. 1762. and colours; while the loss of the victors did not exceed three hundred men, and no British officer of distinction lost his life, except colonel Townshend, who had behaved with great gallantry in this and several previous actions since the commencement of the war. After all, this victory was of little consequence. No decisive stroke had been struck on either side, since the battle of Hastenbeck.

Remarks
on the ge-
nius of
prince
Ferdin-
and.

The war chiefly consisted in bush-fighting, the attack of posts, and surprize of quarters. Were the general's honour at all to be questioned, one would be apt to think his aim was to protract, rather than to terminate, the miseries of his country: but, without all doubt, he exerted his best faculties to bring the war to a conclusion. It is remarkable of this prince, that he seldom advanced to the enemy from his own camp, with all his forces assembled. All his schemes of attack tended to surprize. He made his dispositions so that the detached bodies constituting his army should, at an appointed time, move like so many radii from the circumference to the centre, where the attack was to be made; and they had often rivers, mountains, and defiles to pass: consequently they were subject to a variety of accidents, any one of which would have been sufficient to disconcert the whole design. The bridge of a river might break down; or the stream might be rendered unfordable by a few hours rain. A pass might be suddenly occupied by the enemy: the breaking down of a waggon in a narrow defile might retard the march of the whole body. If the French generals had been vigilant, they would not have allowed themselves to be surprized:

prised: had they been dextrous in managing their private correspondence, they would have received intimation of the design; and, in that case, might have taken such measures as would have proved fatal to the aggressor: had they changed their position, the prince's plan must have miscarried: had they advanced to the right or to the left, and met any one detachment of the allies half way, they might have defeated them all successively, before they could sustain each other.

While the French army remained in their strong camp, under the cannon of Cassel, prince Ferdinand resolved, if possible, to cut off their communication with Franckfort, which was at present maintained by Mr. de Rochambeau, who had taken possession of a strong post near Homburg, with a body of horse and some brigades of infantry. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendish advanced to dislodge him at the head of the British grenadiers, two regiments of English cavalry, four Hanoverian squadrons, the chasseurs of the infantry, and the hussars of Bauer and Riedesel. The enemy beginning to retreat as they approached, the marquis ordered his horse to attack their rear, and this service was gallantly performed by the regiment of blues and Elliot's dragoons, led on by the colonels Hervey and Erskine: but the French cavalry suddenly facing about, and falling upon them sword in hand, with great resolution, they must have been overpowered by superior number, had not the infantry come up to their relief. Then the French cavalry retired, and were hard pressed by the British grenadiers and Highlanders; so that they must have

An. 1762.

Action in
the neighbourhood
of Hom-
burg.

An. 1762. have been entirely routed, had not they been sustained by their infantry, which had posted themselves in a hollow way. At length they effected their retreat, with the loss of about four hundred men; while the hussars of Bauer and Riedesel, advancing to Rothemburg, destroyed a considerable magazine which the enemy had there established.

Prince Ferdinand compels the French army to retire from Mellungen.

In the month of July, prince Ferdinand formed the resolution of attacking the French marshals in their camp at Mellungen, to which place they had fallen back in order to preserve their communication with Franckfort, and to facilitate their junction with the prince de Condé, who had orders to advance from the Lower Rhine for that purpose. The general of the allied army, having made his usual disposition for attacking the enemy, passed the Eder on the twenty-fifth, and joined the marquis of Granby on the Heights of Falkenberg: but, observing the posture of the enemy, he found them too advantageously posted to attack them with any prospect of success. Perceiving, however, that there were signs of confusion among them, he advanced in columns, and forming at eight in the evening, began to cannonade their camp. At night he retired and repassed the rivers Schwalm and Eder, leaving the marquis on the Heights of Falkenberg. At the same time the enemy passed the Fulda, and leaving a body of troops under Mr. de Guerny, opposite to the camp which they abandoned, they retired towards Cassel, while the marquis of Granby took possession of the post of Mellungen. Thus their communication with
 Francfort

Francfort seemed to be once more cut off. Their conduct at this period appears to have been equally irregular and irresolute. They received a new check in the misfortune of Mr. de Stainville, who, marching with four regiments of dragoons towards Rothenburn, fell into an ambuscade at Morschen, where his troops were routed and dispersed by a body of troops, under the command of general Freytag. They now abandoned Goettingen, after having demolished the fortifications of the place, which they themselves had erected at a very great expence. They sent repeated orders to the prince of Condé, to join them without delay; and, in the mean time, they occupied a strong camp on the banks of the Fulda; while prince Ferdinand threw bridges over that river, as if he intended to seize the first opportunity of hazarding another attack. His serene highness seems to have been particularly alert at this juncture, and more eager than ever to give battle, although he knew that the negotiation for peace was already far advanced. Some politicians maliciously observed, that, finding it impracticable to protract the war for his private advantage, he was resolved to conclude it with some bold stroke that should reflect lustre upon his military reputation.

On the sixteenth of July, the prince of Condé began his march from Coesfeldt, in order to join the marshals, and crossed the Lippe at Halteren; but was obliged to take a large circuit, in which he was constantly attended by the hereditary prince of Brunswic, at the head of a strong body detached from the allied army. On the thirtieth day of August,

The prince of Brunswic defeated, and dangerously wounded, at Jöhannenberg.

An. 1762. August, having received advice that a large body of the enemy were on their march to join the prince of Condé, he resolved to attack him before he should be reinforced. The enemy were posted on the mountain of Johanneßberg, in the neighbourhood of Rodheim, near the banks of the Wetter. Such was the impetuosity of the assailants, that they were soon driven into the plain below; and here the fortune of the day was immediately changed. They were so considerably reinforced from their grand army, which had marched from the Fulda to join the prince of Condé, that the action was renewed with redoubled vigour, and the allies gave way in their turn. They were obliged to repass the Wetter with considerable loss, the prince himself being dangerously wounded by a musket ball that entered his right side a little above the hip-bone; a considerable number were killed on both sides, and about eight hundred of the allies were taken, with seven pieces of cannon. Prince Ferdinand no sooner heard that the hereditary prince was engaged, than he marched from his camp, at Nidda, to support him; and arrived time enough to prevent the enemy from pursuing their advantage. This was the third separate expedition, in which the hereditary prince proved unsuccessful, since the beginning of the war. He was removed to Homburg, and from thence to Munden, where the ball was extracted, and he happily recovered.

As prince Ferdinand seemed to have a design upon Cassel, where the French marshals had left general Diesbach with a numerous garrison; the prince of Condé was employed to open march-

routes

routes towards Frankberg, on the Eder, through which they proposed to turn the right of the allied army, passing by the county of Waldeck. Thro' these very roads prince Ferdinand advanced to Wetter, which was evacuated by the French garrison, and the prince of Condé obliged to pass the Lahne. Then the allied army marched to the Ohme, and took possession of the camp at Kirchayne, extending to Ernesthausen, while general Luckner occupied Frankenberg on the Upper Eder. The French marshals having attempted, in vain, to disturb his march, between Horloff and Ohme, passed the Lahne in the neighbourhood of Gießen, and encamped near Marburg: the prince of Condé took post at Gosfeld, and general Levis at Wetter: but this last was dislodged, and their place occupied by a detachment under the generals Luckner and Conway. Many posts were contested on both sides with uncommon vivacity. The general of the allies had resolved to lay siege to Cassel; and the enemy made repeated efforts to throw fresh supplies into the place; but they were effectually prevented by the disposition of his forces.

Part of the French army, under the generals de Castrees and Saarsfeldt, was posted on one side of the Ohme; and on the other, opposite to them, was a strong detachment of the allies, commanded by the marquis of Granby and general Zastrow, in the neighbourhood of the castle of Amenebourg, which the allies occupied with a garrison of about seven hundred men, under the conduct of captain Crute. The enemy resolved to make themselves masters of this fortress; and, in order to amuse the allies,

Ah. 1762.

The allies
encamp
at Kirchayne.

Severe action at the
Bruckermuhl,
near Amenebourg.

An. 1762. allies, attacked a post which they possessed at the Brucker-muhl, for the defence of a bridge over the Ohme. It was defended by a detachment of two hundred men, the greatest part of whom were posted in a small redoubt they had raised for the purpose. On the twenty-first day of September, about six in the morning, the weather being extremely foggy, the enemy attacked the post at the Brucker-muhl with musquetry and some pieces of cannon, having formed a body of horse and infantry on the eminence beyond the bridge. A cannonade immediately began on both sides, while a warm dispute with small arms was maintained between the assailants and the Hanoverians, who defended the redoubt. General Waldegrave, being ordered to support the Brucker-muhl, detached the first battalion of British guards to relieve the Hanoverians, who had by this time sustained great loss, and expended all their ammunition. The enemy continuing to throw fresh troops into a small work, which they had beyond the bridge, and to bring up more cannon; prince Ferdinand also reinforced his artillery with six large cannon, and three howitzers from the army; and four Hessian battalions advanced to sustain those who were engaged. Both sides fought with the most determined resolution, and a prodigious fire of artillery and small arms was maintained for fourteen hours, without intermission; yet no attempt was made on either side to pass the bridge. At length the darkness put an end to the action, which cost the allies very near a thousand men killed on the spot. The loss of the enemy greatly exceeded that number. Among the
killed

killed on the side of the allies, was major Maclean of the Highlanders, who had lost his arm at Guadalupe, an officer who had recommended himself to the particular favour of the hereditary prince, by an indefatigable spirit of undaunted intrepidity. During this very warm dispute, the enemy opened some batteries against the castle of Amenebourg; and next day, the breach being practicable, threatened to give the assault, when the commander, being unprovided for further defence, surrendered with his garrison prisoners of war. In consequence of this acquisition, the enemy advanced the right of their camp, and posted a strong body of forces between Amenebourg and Kleinfelheim. As it does not appear that they meant any thing else by the attack at the Brucker-muhl, than to divert the attention of the allies from the defence of Amenebourg; and, as the redoubt was a post of no consequence, this wanton sacrifice of the lives of some thousands of brave men, including many gallant officers who perished in the action, might have been prevented by withdrawing the Hanoverians from the redoubt when the French advanced to the attack; and the castle of Amenebourg, which was of more importance, perhaps would have been saved, if proper dispositions had been made upon that quarter, which seems to have been wholly neglected.

After this sanguinary affair, the French marshals contented themselves with making detachments on the right and left of the allied army, in order to open their communication with Cassel; but all their efforts were rendered abortive by the vigilance and activity of the allied parties, who obtained several

advantages

The Allies undertake the siege of Cassel, which is reduced.

An. 1762. advantages over them, between the twenty-seventh of September and the first day of October, when prince Ferdinand's quarters were still at Kerchayn, his army extending on the right to Watzenbach, and on the left, behind Merlan. The marshals of France had their right at Merlan, and their left at Caldern. This was the period at which the siege of Cassel was undertaken. The trenches were opened on the sixteenth day of October; and the operations prosecuted with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the activity and resolution of a very numerous garrison, headed by the baron de Dießbach, they were obliged to capitulate on the first day of November, and marched out with all the honours of war. Prince Ferdinand intended to have closed the campaign with the siege of Ziegenhayn, which was the only place in Hesse now possessed by a French garrison; but his preparations were interrupted by the cessation of arms, which took place immediately after the signing of the preliminaries of the peace between France and Great Britain. The siege of Cassel, undertaken at such an advanced season of the year, could not have cost less than the lives of three thousand men on both sides, over and above a very considerable expence, and the great damage sustained by the city. We will venture to affirm, that the fate of the town could not, in the smallest degree, influence the articles of the peace, which were, in a great measure, settled before the siege was undertaken. Had the allies remained in their camp at Kerchayn, without engaging in any new enterprize, the cessation of arms must have taken place in a few weeks, and then

then the French garrison would have quietly evacuated Cassel, without any damage or disturbance to the inhabitants, who now suffered all the horrors of a siege from the cruel ambition of their own allies. Thus were the misfortunes of Hesse compleated by the ruin of its capital.

An. 1762.

This delightful country, which, in cultivation, far exceeded any other province or district of Westphalia, had been entirely desolated by the savage hand of war. All the inclosures were broke down, and all the plantations destroyed. The farm-houses and villages, having been pillaged by the irregular troops and dragoons of both armies, on pretence of searching for forage, were now wholly abandoned by their wretched inhabitants, great numbers of whom perished for want of sustenance and shelter: troops of helpless old men, women, and children, were seen fainting with hunger, and crying aloud for bread; while others, who had more strength and vigour left, fled from their hapless country, and had recourse to the charity of neighbouring states. At the affair of Willelmstahl, the magnificent gardens of the landgrave, adorned with statues, temples, fountains, and cascades, had been totally ruined by the artillery of the allies, which played upon the enemy in their retreat. The delightful groves were cut down, for firing to the French soldiery. The elegant apartments of the palace were disfurnished, defaced, and defiled, by the wanton insolence and brutal indelicacy of their officers, who converted them into lodging rooms, kitchens, and kennels; and, during the siege of Cassel, great part of the city was demolished and laid waste by

Deplorable state of Hesse-Cassel.

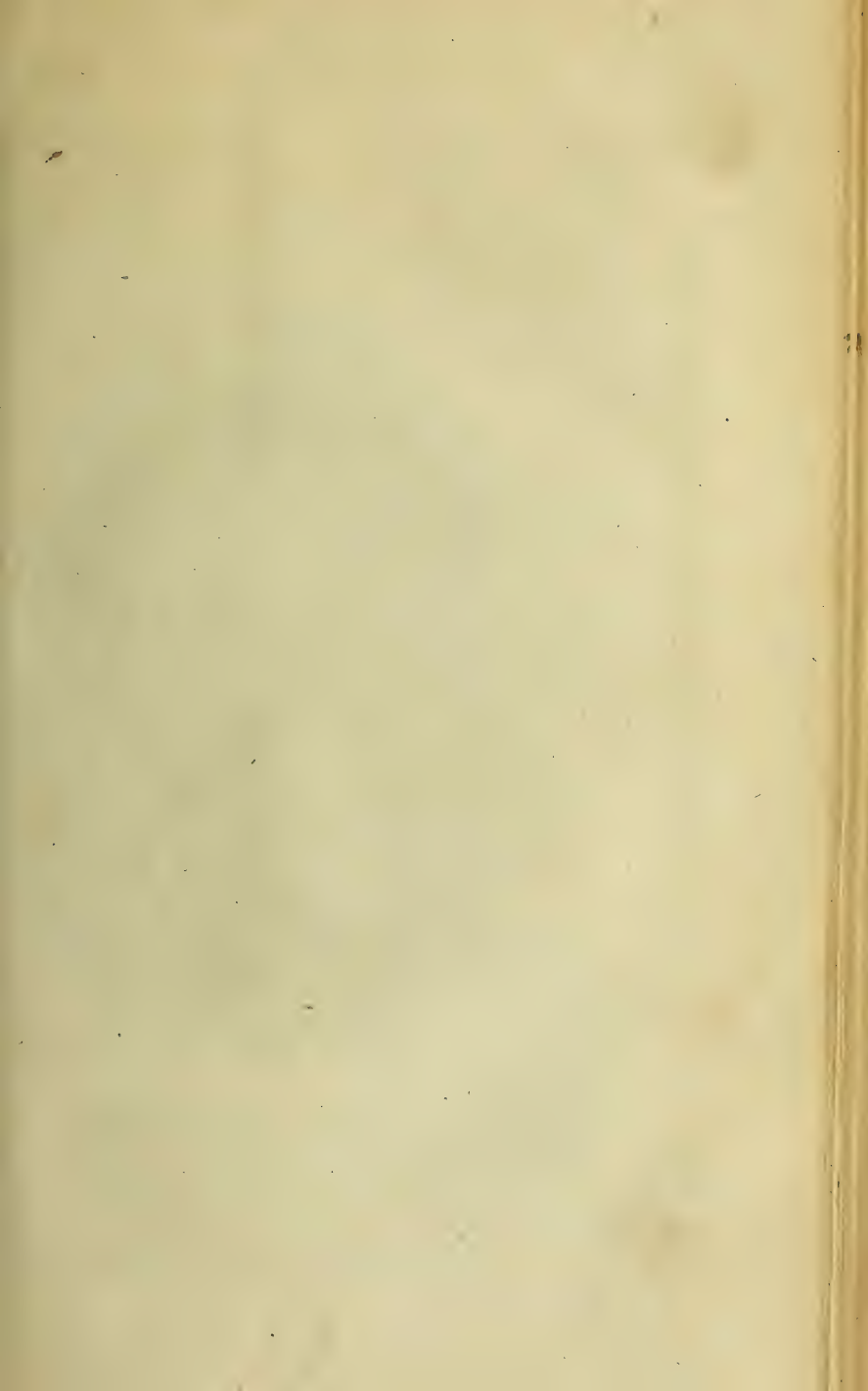
An. 1762. the bullets and bombshells of its professed friends and protectors. No part of the immense sums expended on both sides, remained in this miserable country. All the British specie was conveyed to Holland, Hamburg, Bremen, and other remote towns and provinces, from whence the allied army was supplied with provision and necessaries, while that of the French centered about Franckfort on the Mayne, and other towns and countries on the Upper Rhine, that furnished forage and whatever else they wanted for the consumption of the war.

Reflec-
tions up-
on the
conduct
of the
war.

Westphalia will scarce recover in half a century from the wounds it has received in the course of the five last campaigns. It would be much for the honour of human nature, and the advantage of mankind in general, if, at the commencement of every war, when the cartel for the exchange of prisoners is regulated, the belligerent powers would agree to protect the inhabitants of every country which shall become the scene of operations. In that case, they would be plentifully and reasonably supplied with provision, without being obliged to send detachments of cavalry every day above forty miles for a few rations of forage; an inconvenience by which an incredible number of horses were destroyed in the allied army: and, after the re-establishment of peace, the open country would exhibit no marks of misery and desolation.

State of
parties in
England.

From this excursion on the continent, we must make a transition to those transactions domestic and foreign, in which Great Britain was more immediately concerned. We have already observed, that a loud clamour had been raised against the admini-
stration





THO^S. HOLLES *DUKE OF* NEWCASTLE

An. 1762.

stration of lord Bute, by those who avowed themselves the partisans of the late minister ; and that this clamour was increased by the adherents and friends of the d— of N——le, who had been removed from their places after his compulsive resignation. The cry was still augmented by all those who were averse to peace, either from motives of interest or ambition. Even the d— of C——d the k—g's uncle, was numbered among the malcontents of the nation. The opposition had two heads ; the d— of N——le appeared in the front of one squadron, who distinguished themselves by the appellation of the Whig Interest. Earl T——le was the visible conductor of the other, which professed an inviolable attachment to the person and politics of Mr. P—tt ; and this interest was supported, in a subordinate capacity, by B—k—d, lord-mayor of London, a native of Jamaica, proud, violent, and obstinate, who, by means of an ample fortune and extensive commerce, had acquired considerable influence in the city, without any personal address, or any superiority of understanding. Periodical papers were planned and published, and many pamphlets written for the support of this faction. They were couched in the most scurrilous terms of invective. They contained hints of the most infamous calumny, thrown out against the family of their p—ce.

They were replete with false insinuations, tending to bring the intellects of their f——n in contempt with his people : but their chief battery was directed against the earl of Bute, whom the faction seemed bent upon driving from the helm. He was

Virulence
against
the earl
of Bute.

Ap. 1762. represented as a worthless favourite, who had by low cunning, and frequent opportunity, gained a dangerous ascendant over the mind of his m——y, which he now ruled with the most despotic insolence, excluding wiser and worthier men from the good graces of his royal master; without capacity to manage the reins of government, without spirit to prosecute the war, without penetration to discern, or liberality to reward merit. He was accused of having discarded the faithful servants of the crown; of having introduced a system of Toryism in the cabinet; and of having associated bad men, weak politicians, and ignorant financiers, into his administration: he was taxed with pride, selfishness, and partiality. Every trifle was swelled up into a capital charge against him: even the accidents of fortune were imputed as guilt to the minister. His being created knight of the garter, with one of the king's brothers, was magnified as a flagrant instance of his vanity and insolence. The reduction of Newfoundland by the enemy was attributed to his want of care in providing for its defence, though in this particular no change had been made since the resignation of his predecessor. Nay, they did not scruple to insinuate, that the success of this French armament was the effect of a private correspondence between him and the court of Versailles. They exclaimed that he had scandalously abandoned the protestant interest on the continent, the balance of power, and their glorious ally the king of Prussia; and they declared his intention was to solicit and subscribe an infamous peace at the expence of the honour and the advantage

tage of Great Britain. It may be easily conceived how all these articles of impeachment, urged and repeated with surprising effrontery, circulated and enforced by a great number of interested malcontents, must have operated on the minds of a very inflammable populace, intoxicated with dreams of conquest and dominion.

But the character and conduct of the minister might have possibly stood proof against all those assaults, had not his enemies artfully pointed their arrows at that part of him which was most vulnerable. The earl of Bute was not only a *Stuart* by name, but he had the misfortune to be born a native of North Britain; and this very circumstance, we will venture to say, was, in the opinion of the people, more than sufficient to counterbalance all the good qualities which human nature could possess. The jealousy of the English nation, towards their fellow-subjects on the other side of the Tweed, had discovered itself occasionally ever since the union of the crowns; and antient animosities had been kept alive by two successive rebellions which began in Scotland: but the common grudge was founded upon the success of the Scots, who had established themselves in different parts of England, and risen from very small beginnings to wealth and consideration. They had prospered in many different provinces of life, and made no contemptible figure in the cultivation of the arts and sciences. In a word, the English people looked upon them with an evil eye, as interlopers in commerce and competitors for reputation. It was not without murmuring, they had seen them aspire to

Animosity against the Scottish nation.

An. 1762. the first offices in the law, the army, and the navy: but they were exasperated to find a Scot at the head of the English treasury, and the chief administration of the kingdom in his hands. These were topicks on which the writers in the opposition did not fail to expatiate. They revived, and retailed with peculiar virulence, all the calumnies, antient and modern, that ever had been uttered against the Scottish nation; some of them so gross and absurd, that they could not possibly obtain credit but among the very dregs of the people. They enlarged upon their craft, dissimulation, deceit, and national partiality. They demonstrated the dangers that threatened the interests of Old England, from the great numbers of those Northern adventurers, who had wriggled themselves into all the different departments of civil and military institution; and they insisted upon the disgrace of acquiescing under the government of a North Briton, a Stuart allied by blood to the pretender, who had expelled from court the best friends of the protestant succession, associated himself with avowed Tories, who prostituted the offices, and squandered away the wealth of England on worthless favourites of his own country. These bitter remonstrances, in which no regard was paid either to truth or decency, they reinforced with feigned circumstances, and forged lists of North Britons gratified with pensions, appointed to places, or promoted in the service; till at length the populace were incensed and impelled even to the verge of insurrection.

Stoicism
of the
m——r.

All this torrent of abuse the earl of Bute sustained with a degree of fortitude that bordered upon stoicism,
and



MR. C. CHURCHILL.



and might have been very easily mistaken for insensibility. It was, however, by the iniquity of the times, construed into guilt and apprehension. This very extraordinary person was really an enthusiast in patriotism. He had nothing at heart but to co-operate with the views of his royal master, which were solely directed to the advantage and happiness of that very people by whom he was loaded with reproach and execration. He was of opinion that virtue, by its own intrinsic efficacy, would in the end triumph over all opposition; therefore, he did not think it necessary to reinforce it by means of any temporizing art, auxiliary law, or other precaution. Without all doubt, posterity will do him justice: but this justification may come so late, that he himself will reap no benefit from the triumph of his reputation. He was not without friends who exercised their pens in his vindication: but the torrent of popular prejudice soon became too strong to be resisted, either by argument or facts. The populace industriously avoided hearing or seeing any thing that could be urged, or produced in his behalf. They resigned all their thinking faculties, and even their senses, to the indefatigable incendiaries of a bold and insolent faction, who were overawed by no authority, and restrained by no principle; till at length the animosity to the Scots in general, and the aversion to the minister in particular, proceeded to an amazing degree of infatuation. Had the natives of North Britain proved equally combustible, the flames of civil war would have certainly been kindled; and, in that case, the ruin of a mighty nation might have been effected by

An 1762.. two or three infamous emissaries, equally desperate and obscure, who either prostituted their pens to a party for hire, or exercised their talents for abuse, in hope of being bought off by the minister.

Remark
on nation-
al reflec-
tions.

England and Scotland are now too intimately connected in point of interest and communication, to be disjoined without such violent convulsions as would endanger the safety of either, and even the existence of both: but it will always be in the power of a few bad men to excite such jealousies and resentments as will defeat the best purposes of the union, until a British parliament shall enact a law for punishing, in a summary manner, the authors of such national reproach, as perturbators of the public peace. Had the promulgators of the first defamatory libels that appeared against the k—g and his family, been apprehended and punished according to law, the faction would have found it a very difficult task, in the sequel, to engage either printer or publisher in their service: and, in all probability, the evil would have been crushed in the egg: but they were emboldened by impunity to proceed in their career, to confirm their calumnies by unrefuted falsehoods, and to give a loose to the most audacious scurrility; until the minds of the people were so deeply and so universally tainted, that it became hazardous to call the libellers to account, and very doubtful whether a jury could be found in the capital, that would surrender those new idols to the castigation of the law.

We would not be thought to insinuate that l—
B—e's character was altogether without weakness,
of

or his conduct totally exempt from error : but, undoubtedly, his intention was upright, and the partiality for his own countrymen, of which he was accused, seems to have been entirely without foundation. At least it appears, that as few natives of North Britain were provided with places, or promoted in the service, during his ministry, as in any former term of the same duration, since the beginning of the century. It was observed, however, that this nobleman did not possess the art of acquiring popularity : that his deportment, though civil and condescending, was stiffened with a reserve, which kept mankind at too great a distance ; that, instead of giving magnificent entertainments, suitable to the dignity of his office, and the liberality of his fortune, which had been increased to a very ample revenue by the death of his father-in-law, his housekeeping was modest, frugal, and favoured rather too much of œconomy ; that he did not mingle enough in the society and diversions of the nobility, whose friendship it was his interest to cultivate ; but passed his hours of relaxation among a few private favourites of his own country, whose characters, perhaps, wanted no advantage, but that of being known, to attract the esteem of the public. We will not pretend to judge whether he was to blame in associating as a minister with Mr. F—x, who was, undoubtedly, next to himself, the most unpopular man in the whole kingdom : but this circumstance was loudly rehearsed as a flagrant article of his demerits. He was also ridiculed for having forced the place of chancellor of the exchequer upon sir F—s D—sh—d, who,

An. 1762.
Animad-
versions
on the
conduct
of the
m——r.

An. 1762. who, though a gentleman of undoubted honour and integrity, was (as he himself candidly owned) but an indifferent financier, consequently ill-qualified to execute the functions of that important office.

The
king's in-
clination
for peace.

In the midst of these internal disturbances, the operations of war were prosecuted with unremitting ardour in the East and West Indies; while the king still persisted in his resolution to embrace the first opportunity of re-establishing peace, which, exclusive of motives of humanity, he thought absolutely necessary for the advantage of his own kingdom. He longed to see his people eased of that intolerable load of taxes, which the expences of this and the former war had laid upon their shoulders. He saw them exhausting their blood and treasure in quarrels, not their own, upon the continent of Germany; and that this fatal drain could not be effectually stopped, but by a general pacification. The national debt was increased to such an enormous burden, as seemed to threaten the immediate ruin of public credit, which a peace alone could prevent. The original scope of the war, namely, the security of the British colonies in America, was fully accomplished; forty ships of the line were rendered useless by hard service: thirty thousand recruits were wanted for the army; and the war had occasioned such a scarcity of men, that, during the preceding year, it had been found impracticable to raise above fifteen hundred recruits for the established regiments, though great premiums had been offered to engage men in the service. These considerations reinforced the other reasons

reasons which induced his majesty to wish for peace; and his sentiments were warmly espoused by all the members of his council.

An. 1762.

The king of Sardinia is said to have offered his best offices for reviving the negotiation between the courts of London and Versailles; and, in all probability, his mediation was cordially embraced by both. Certain it is, they agreed to treat in good earnest, and to send mutually to each other, a person of the first rank, vested with the powers and character of ambassador and plenipotentiary. The duke of Bedford being chosen for this purpose, by the king of Great Britain, set out for France in the beginning of September; and, at the same time, the duke de Nivernois arrived in England with the same character from his most christian majesty. Many difficulties were levelled by the hearty desire of peace, which animated both monarchs. The humours and interests of their German allies, no longer obstructed the progress of the negotiation, which now turned only upon the re-establishment of peace between England and the houses of Bourbon. The king of Prussia delivered from two formidable enemies, in consequence of his late accommodation with Russia and Sweden, was now in a condition to take care of himself: besides, that system was changed, by which his interests had been so warmly espoused at the court of London. In settling the preliminaries, which were discussed in concert with the kings of Spain and Portugal, the belligerent powers made allowances for what might have happened in the East and West Indies, and regulated the concessions to be made in proportion

The
negotia-
tion with
France
renewed.

An. 1762. to the success or miscarriage that might attend the British armaments. Mean while a violent dispute in word and writing ensued among the politicians in England, touching the different articles of the future pacification, as they happened to transpire in the course of the negotiation.

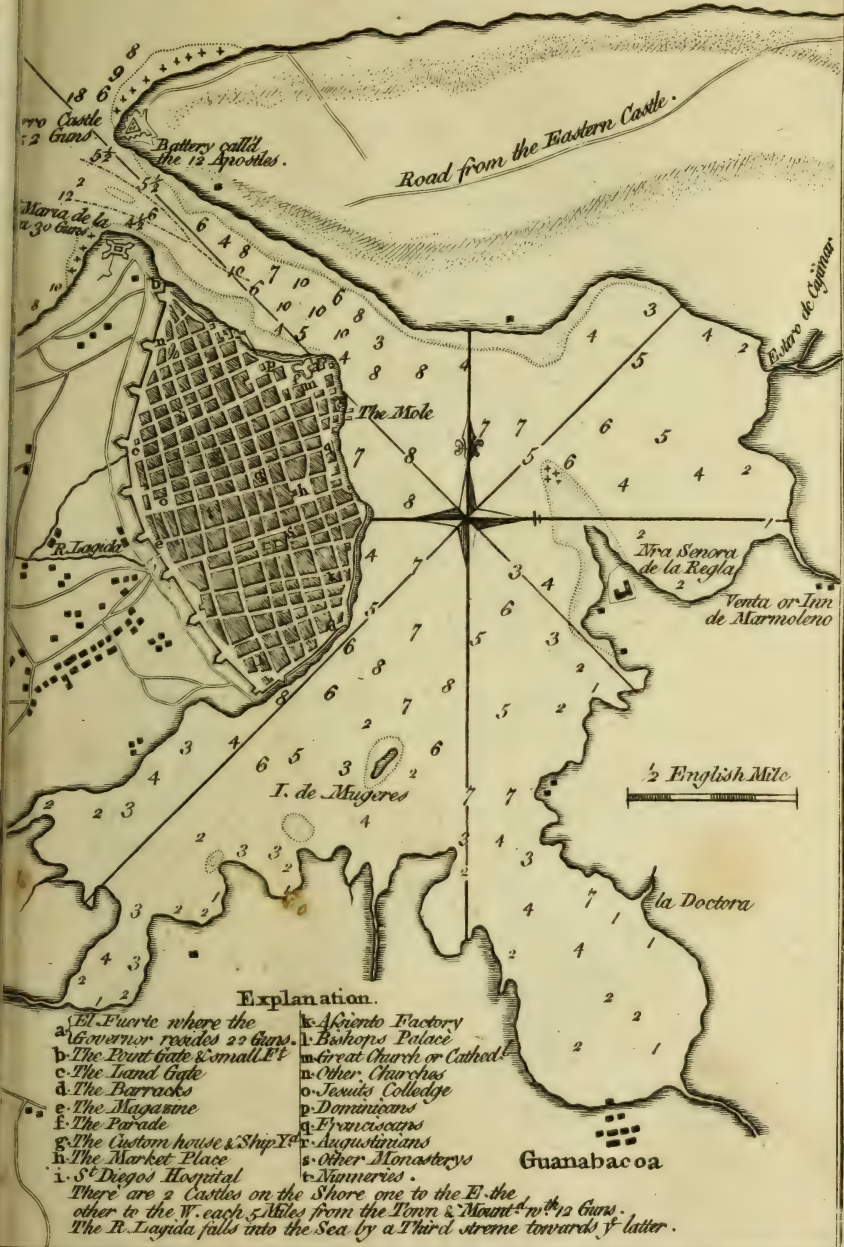
Progress
of the
British
arms in
the West
Indies.

This warm contest was not interrupted, even by the tidings of a very important national advantage, brought by the honourable Augustus Hervey and captain Nugent, who arrived in London about the end of September, with dispatches from the earl of Albemarle and sir George Pococke. We have already observed that the armament under the conduct of those two commanders had sailed from Portsmouth in the beginning of March; and, according to the general opinion, it was destined to act against the principal Spanish settlement on the island of Cuba. On the twenty-seventh day of May, they were joined off Cape Nichola, on the north-west point of Hispaniola, by a detachment of the fleet from Martinique, under sir James Douglas; and, in consequence of this junction, their whole force consisted of nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about one hundred and fifty transports, having on board about ten thousand land forces and marines. Orders had been sent to detach another reinforcement of four thousand men from New York, which, it was supposed, would arrive time enough to bear a part in their military operations.

Siege of
the Ha-
vanna.

The admiral, having resolved to choose the nearest course through the old straits of Bahama, took proper precautions, and chose skilful pilots for conducting

PLAN of the CITY and HARBOUR of HAVANNA, Capital of the Island of CUBA.





An. 1762.

ducting the fleet through that difficult and dangerous passage, which lies along the north side of Cuba. He was favoured with fair wind and good weather, which enabled him to perform this task in a few days, without accident or danger; and, on the sixth day of July, he lay to, about five leagues to the eastward of the Havanna, after having taken a Spanish frigate and a store-ship in the passage. Having issued directions to the masters of the transports, with respect to the disembarkation of the army, and left commodore Keppel to superintend this service, with six sail of the line and some frigates, he bore away with the rest of the fleet, and ran down off the harbour, where he descried twelve Spanish ships of the line, with several trading vessels. Next morning he embarked his marines in boats, and made a shew of landing about four miles to the westward of the Havanna; while the earl of Albemarle landed with the whole army, between the rivers Boca-nao and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro Castle, which was the enemy's chief fortress for the defence of the town and harbour. A body of Spaniards appeared on the shore; but, some sloops being ordered in to scour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops not only landed, but also passed the river Coxemar, without opposition. On the tenth, colonel Carleton drove the enemy from a small redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos, which overlooked the Moro; and there a post was established: at the same time, three bomb-vessels being anchored in shore, began to throw shells into the town, under cover of the ships. Sterling Castle
and

An. 1762. and Echo. Though this invasion of the English was altogether unexpected, the place being strongly fortified and well supplied, preparations were instantly made for a vigorous defence, by Don Juan de Prado, governor of the city, and the marquis del Real, commodore of the shipping, assisted by the counsels and experience of the viceroy of Peru and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be at the Havanna, in the way to or from their respective governments. By the twelfth, they had sunk three of their capital ships in the mouth of the harbour; so as entirely to block up the channel. The admiral ordered four ships of the line to cruise in the offing; and, with the rest of his squadron, anchored off Chorera river, four miles to the westward of the Havanna, where there was plenty of wood and fresh water. Here, at the request of lord Albemarle, he landed eight hundred marines, formed into two battalions, under the majors Campbell and Collins, who encamped on this side, and were reinforced from the other side by a detachment of twelve hundred men, under the command of colonel Howe. This step was taken in order to secure a footing on both quarters of the town, and divide the enemy's attention, so as to weaken the defence of the Moro, against which the earl of Albemarle had determined to direct his chief operations. He was encamped in the woods between the river Coxemar and the Moro, leaving a corps at Guana-macoa, under the command of lieutenant-general Elliot, to secure the avenues on that side, and his communication with a large tract of country, which, it was hoped, would

would supply the troops with water, vegetables, and fresh provision. The attack of the Moro was commanded by major-general Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and the chief engineer was Mr. Mackellar, who displayed uncommon abilities at the siege of Louisbourg, and on many other occasions both in this and the last war.

Fascines, stores, and artillery, being landed from the ships with great expedition by the seamen, the engineers began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed to cut parallels in the woods, and form a line with fascines to secure the guards from the fire of the enemy, which began to be very troublesome. On the twenty ninth, about one thousand chosen men of the enemy, with a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes, landed on two divisions to the right and left of the Moro, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers: but they were repulsed by the piquets and advanced posts, and retreated in great confusion, with the loss of two hundred men, killed and taken. On the first day of July, the besiegers opened two batteries of cannon, so that their whole fire now proceeded from twelve battering cannon, six large mortars, three small ones, and twenty-six royals. The enemy had seventeen pieces of artillery, and one mortar, mounted on the front attacked: but their fire was not so well maintained as that of the assailants. Indeed, their attention was this day divided for about three hours, in consequence of an attack made upon the north-east face, by three ships of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains

Attack of
Fort
Moro.

An. 1762.

An. 1762. captains Goostrey, Hervey, and Burnet, who maintained a close cannonade, though with little effect: for the Moro was situated too high to be much affected by their artillery. They suffered considerably in their rigging, and lost a great number of men, including captain Goostrey, who fell in the beginning of the engagement. His place was supplied by captain Lindsay of the Trent, a brave officer, who behaved with remarkable gallantry. Captain Campbell, of the Sterling Castle, who had been ordered to lead until the first ship had been properly placed, did not perform his part according to the directions he had received; and was obliged to quit the service.

Prizes
made by
the admiral's
cruisers.

About the same time, the admiral's cruisers, who scoured the sea round the whole island, brought in the Venganza frigate of twenty six guns, the Marté of eighteen, and a schooner, laden with coffee. On the twelfth, sir James Douglas, who had parted from the admiral immediately after their junction, and steered his course to Jamaica, in a single ship, now arrived off the Havanna, having under his convoy, a fleet of merchant ships bound for England.

Difficulties of the
siege.

The parapet of Fort Moro was all of masonry; the ditch of the front attacked, was seventy feet deep from the edge of the counterscarp, and more than forty feet of that depth sunk in the rock. The soil of the country in the neighbourhood, being very thin, afforded little earth; and as it was thought necessary to carry on the approaches by sap, this method might have been found altogether impracticable, had not sir James Douglas supplied

supplied the engineers with cotton bags, from some ships of his convoy, which were partly loaded with this commodity. Mean while, the enemy made such a vigorous defence, that the siege was protracted beyond expectation; a considerable delay was likewise occasioned by an unlucky accident. On the third day of July, the principal battery of the besiegers, chiefly constructed of timber and fascines, being dried by the heat of the weather and the continual cannonade, took fire, and the flames raged with such violence, that almost the whole work was consumed. The besiegers were subjected to various other discouragements. Epidemical distempers, such as never fail to attack the natives of Britain who visit those countries, began to make great havock, both in the army and the navy. These were rendered more fatal by the want of necessaries and refreshments. The provision was bad; and the troops were ill supplied with water. The great number of the sick rendered the duty more fatiguing to those that were well. In those warm climates, the human body being in a state of relaxation, is incapable of such a degree of labour as it can bear in more northern latitudes; and the men are subject to a species of dejection, which always augments the general mortality: this was now reinforced by the delay of the troops from North America, which they had long expected to no purpose.

From repeated experience, it appears, that the troops of England can never endure a campaign of any length in the West-Indies. At least, nothing can render it tolerable, but such attention to the

Numb. 43.

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con-

Observations relating to the health of the soldiery and seamen.

An. 1762. convenience and provision of the soldiery, as hath never yet been payd in any of the expeditions of Great Britain. That the forces before the Havana should be obliged to live on damaged provision, is a reproach upon the victuallers; but it is still more surprising that they should be in want of water in the neighbourhood of two rivers, while the boats-crews of the whole fleet were unemployed. It would deserve the consideration of our admirals and generals, who may hereafter be chosen to conduct such enterprizes, whether it would not conduce to the health of the men, if certain sloop, vessels, and boats, should be regularly employed in making provision of turtle, fish, pot-herbs, roots, oranges, and lemons, along the coast, and in the neighbouring islands, where these articles abound; while successive detachments are sent out from the army to procure supplies of black cattle, hogs, poultry, and every other species of eatables. The owners of these ought not to be pillaged, but conscientiously payed for what they furnish; and, above all things, the men ought to be indulged with plenty of fresh water, a certain proportion of it being mixed with wine or distilled spirit.

Arrival of
the reinforcement
from
North
America.

On the second day of August, the second division of the transports, with the troops from North-America. arrived; and this reinforcement added fresh vigour to the operations of the siege. In a few days, the seamen and soldiers belonging to four of the American transports, which had been wrecked in the straits of Bahama, were brought off in five sloops, detached by the admiral on this service: but, at the same time, he received information

mation that five other transports, having on board three hundred and fifty soldiers, of Anstruther's regiment, and one hundred and fifty provincial troops, were taken on the twenty-first day of July, by a French squadron, which fell in with them near the passage between Maya Guanna, and the North Caicos. All the rest of the troops, however, arrived in perfect health.

On the nineteenth of July, the besiegers took possession of the covered-way, before the point of the right bastion, and a new sap was begun at this lodgment. The only place by which the foot of the wall was accessible, happened to be a thin ridge of rock, left at the point of the bastion, to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. Along this ridge the miners passed, without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgment with little loss. Mean while, they sunk a shaft without the covered-way, in order to form a mine for throwing the counterscarp into the ditch, should it be found necessary to fill it; and continued their former sap along the glacis. In the night of the twenty-first, a serjeant and twelve men scaled the walls by surprise; but, the garrison being alarmed before they could be sustained, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Next day, at four in the morning, a sally was made from the town, by fifteen hundred men, divided into three detachments, who attacked the besiegers in three different places, while a warm fire was kept up in their favour from the fort of Punta, the west bastion, the lines and flanks of the entrance, and their shipping in the harbour.

Progress
of the
siege.

An 1762. After a warm dispute, which cost the English about fifty men killed or wounded, all their three parties were repulsed, and fled with such precipitation, that a considerable number was drowned in the hurry of their retreat. Their loss amounted to four hundred, killed and taken prisoners. On the thirtieth day of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed out into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon compelled the enemy to retire.

The Moro
taken by
assault.

In the afternoon, two mines were sprung by the besiegers, with such effect, that a practicable breach was made in the bastion; and orders were immediately given for the assault. The troops mounted with great intrepidity, and, forming on the top of the breach, drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts, after a short, though very warm, dispute, in which about one hundred and thirty Spaniards were killed, including several officers of distinction. Don Luis de Velasco, governor of the fort, had distinguished himself from the beginning of the siege, by such activity and courage, as attracted the admiration and esteem even of his enemies. In this last action, he did all that could be expected from the most romantic gallantry, and fell by a shot he received in defending the colours of Spain. The marquis Gonzales, who was second in command, likewise lost his life on this occasion. About four hundred of the garrison threw down their arms, and were made prisoners: the rest were either killed in boats, or drowned, in attempting to escape to the

the Havanna. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who An.1762. commanded the attack, lost but two lieutenants, and twelve men; and one lieutenant, with four sergeants, and twenty-four men, were wounded.

The reduction of the Moro was not immediately attended with the surrender of the Havanna; on the contrary, the governor of the place now directed his chief fire against the fortrefs which they had lost; and even sent down a large ship of the line to the entrance of the harbour, from whence she could batter it with more effect. Her efforts, however, produced nothing, and in a few hours she removed to a greater distance. In the mean time, general Keppel, with the advice of the engineer, resolved to erect new batteries on the Cavannos; and a plan was formed for making a new attack to the westward of the town. On the tenth of August, in the morning, the batteries on the Cavannos being finished, the earl of Albemarle sent a flag of truce to summon the governor to surrender; and his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. Next morning, at day-break, about five and forty cannon and eight mortars began to play against the town and the Punta, which last was silenced before ten; in another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. About two in the afternoon, white flags were hung out all round the place, as well as on board the admiral's ship in the harbour; and, in a little time, a flag of truce arrived at the head-quarters, with proposals of capitulation. The governor sticled hard to obtain permission to send the ships to Spain, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but

Surrender
of the
Havanna
and
Spanish
shipping.

An. 1762. neither of these points could be given up, and hostilities were ordered to be renewed, when the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands. By the capitulation, which was signed on the thirteenth, the inhabitants were secured in their private property, in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion; and next day the English troops took possession of this important conquest. As for the Spanish garrison, which amounted to about nine hundred, including officers, they were indulged with the honours of war; and it was stipulated, that they and the sailors should be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spanish commodore, the governor of the Havanna, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena. In the progress of the siege, about five hundred of the British troops, including fifteen officers, were killed outright or died of their wounds; and about seven hundred, comprehending thirty-nine officers, were cut off by distemper, which raged with redoubled violence after the reduction of the place. Great quantities of artillery, small arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with twelve ships of the line, two upon the stocks, and several trading vessels. They likewise acquired to the amount of near two millions sterling, in silver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected on his catholic majesty's account: so that the British nation was more than indemnified for the expence of the expedition; and the enemy's loss was irreparable.

So much treasure intercepted by the English, first in the ship *Hermione*, and now in the island of
Cuba,

Cuba, must have been a severe stroke upon the king of Spain : but the ruin of his navy was of much greater importance, and even that but a trifle in comparison to the loss of the Havanna, the port at which all their galleons and flota, loaded with the riches of Mexico and Peru, rendezvoused in their return to Old Spain ; the port which absolutely commanded the only passage by which their ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. While this place remains in the hands of an enemy, who are masters at sea, the court of Madrid can receive no supplies of treasure from the West Indies, except by such routes as are equally tedious and uncertain, by beating up the windward passage from Carthagena, which cannot be effected without infinite trouble, perseverance, and danger from the English squadrons ; and, by surrounding Cape-horn, or passing through the streights of Magellan from the South-sea, a voyage of great length, subject to infinite hazards and inconveniences. The reduction of the Havanna, therefore, was an acquisition, that not only distressed the Spaniards in the most essential manner, by stopping the sources of their wealth, but likewise opened to the conquerors an easy avenue to the centre of their American treasures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired such large sums at the expence of her enemies. Her success in the East Indies is said to have brought into England near six millions in treasure and jewels, since the commencement of hostilities ; but every million thus acquired, she has expended tenfold in the course of her subsidies and expeditions.

An.1762.

Import-
ance of
the con-
quest.

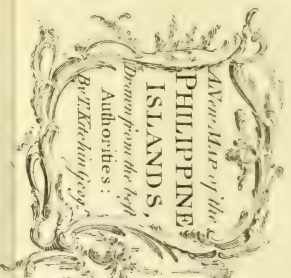
An. 1762.

The loss of the Havanna, with the ships and treasure there taken, was not the only disaster sustained by Spain in the short course of the war, which she had so imprudently declared against Great Britain. She received another dangerous wound in the East Indies.

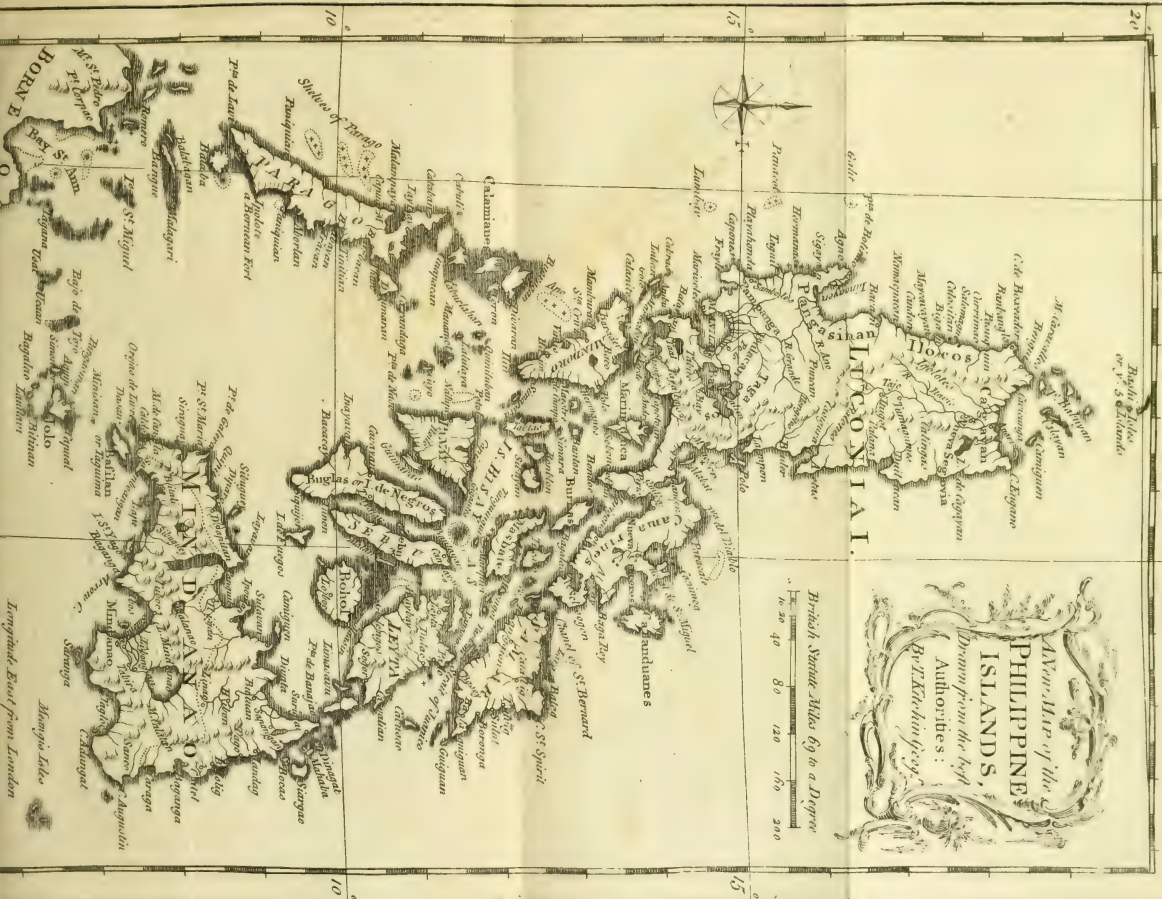
Expedi-
tion to the
Philip-
pine Isles.

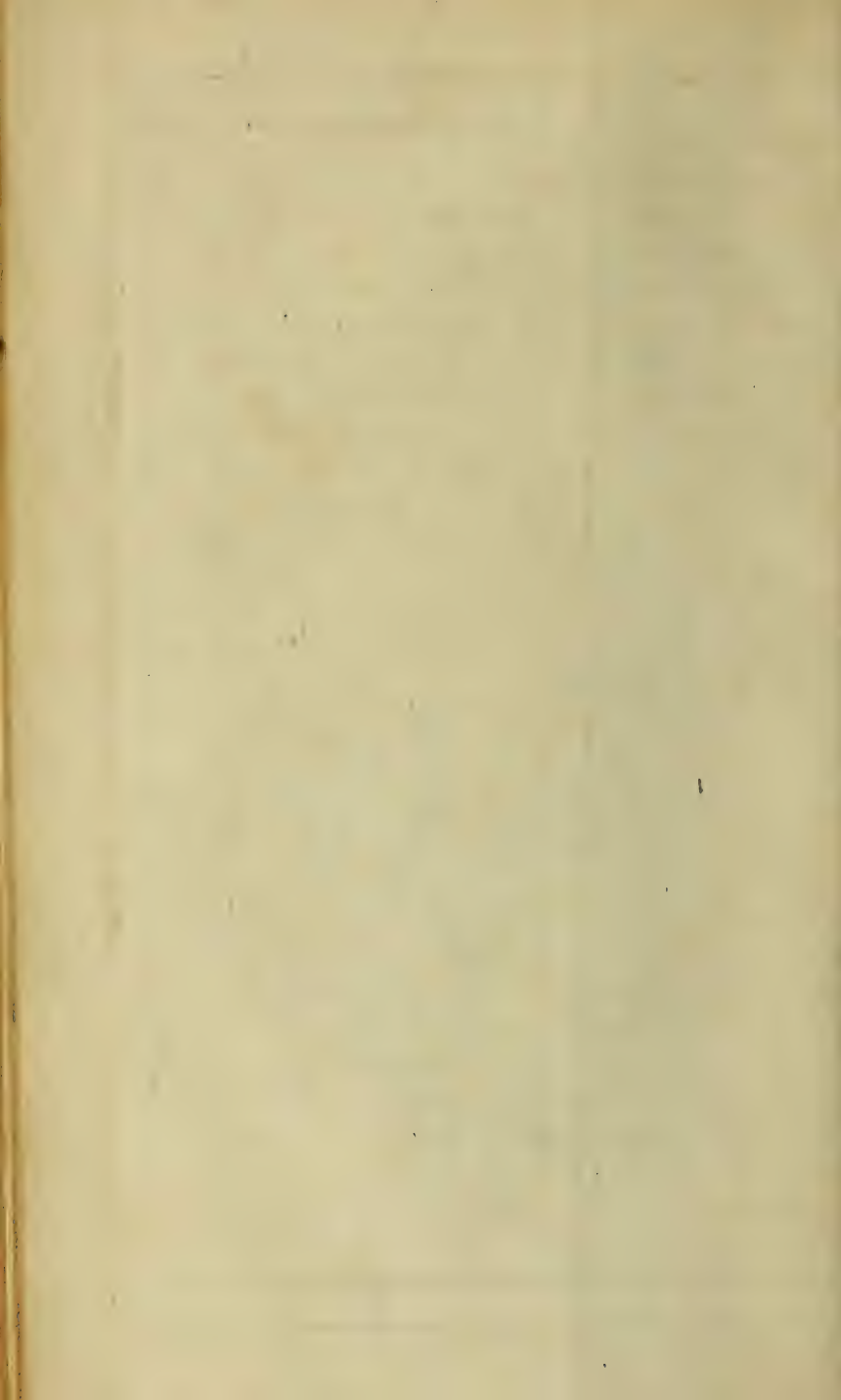
It may not be unnecessary to apprise the reader, that the Philippine Islands, situated in the Indian ocean, extend from the sixth to near the twentieth degree of north latitude, about one hundred and twenty leagues to the southward of China; that they are computed to be twelve hundred in number, and are considered as part of the sovereignty of Spain; that in the largest of them, called Luzonia, which is said to be above one hundred and sixty leagues in length, the Spaniards are possessed of Manilla, a considerable city, extensive, populous, and tolerably well fortified, the centre of the Spanish trade, from whence two large ships are sent annually across the vast Pacific ocean to Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, laden with the spices, stuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. The city stands on a point of land, formed by a river that issues from the great lake of Bahia, and falls into the sea a little lower, at the town of Cavite, where there is a spacious harbour, though the entrance is difficult. The suburbs of Manilla are very extensive, containing a great number of inhabitants, natives of different countries, particularly Chinese; but the number of the Spaniards within the place does not exceed five thousand.

Against this settlement, a plan of attack was formed at Madras, to be executed by part of the squadron



British Scale Miles 6y to a Degree
0 20 40 80 120 160 200





squadron of vice-admiral Cornish, and a few battalions under the command of brigadier-general Draper, who had signalized himself in the defence of Madrafs, when it was besieged by the enemy. The troops allotted for this expedition consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; and these were, by the governor of Madrafs, reinforced with some able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, six hundred Sipoy, one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, one of pioneers, two companies of French deserters, with a few hundred of Lascars, for the use of the engineers and the park of artillery. Vice-admiral Cornish supplied a strong battalion of seamen and marines; so that the whole force amounted to two thousand three hundred effective men, with which it was resolved to make an attempt upon the flourishing city of Manilla. Major-general Laurence, who commanded the forces of the East-India company at Madrafs, was of opinion that the settlements would be in danger, should a greater number of troops be drawn from the coast; and, therefore, the two battalions of the company's troops, the whole cavalry, six thousand sipoy, with part of Monson's regiment, and the highlanders, were left for their security: at the same time, orders were left for three ships of war, which they hourly expected at Madrafs, to remain on that part of the coast for the protection of the commerce. The enterprize was no sooner resolved upon, than the admiral detached captain Grant in the Seahorse, to the entrance of the Chinese sea, with instructions to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla,

that

An. 1762.
Preparations at
Madrafs.

An. 1762. that the enemy might receive no intelligence of their design.

The armament arrives at Manilla.

The forces, with the stores and artillery, being embarked, the admiral sailed in two divisions about the beginning of August, and on the nineteenth arrived at Malacca. Here the * fleet being watered, and a large quantity of rattans provided for making gabions, they proceeded on their voyage; and, on the twenty third day of September, anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a siege, and much alarmed at this unexpected visit. The governor was the archbishop, who styles himself captain-general of the Philippine Islands: but the garrison, amounting to eight hundred men of the royal regiment, was commanded by the marquis de Villa-medina, a brigadier-general, who now reinforced it with a body of ten thousand Indians, from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and savage nation, who, tho' unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, manage their bows and arrows with great dexterity, and are very formidable from their intrepidity and contempt of death. The officers, subordinate to brigadier-general Draper, were the lieutenant-colonels Monson and Scott, major Barker, who commanded

* The squadron consisted of the Norfolk, Panther, America, Seaford, the Elizabeth, Grafton, Lenox, Weymouth, Seahorse, and Argo, with one of the company's vessels, and a store-ship. The Falmouth was left at the request of the

president and council of Madras, to convoy the Essex India ship, which had on board the treasure for the China cargoes; but she arrived time enough to have her share in the expedition.

the artillery, and major More. Mr. Drake, and some other individuals in the East-India company's service, were appointed to take care of the company's interests, according to the convention made with the president and council at Madrafs, relating to the success of the expedition. The next in command to the vice-admiral at sea, was commodore Tiddeman; and the battalion of seamen and marines was commanded by the captains Collins, Pitchford, and George Ourry, who behaved during the whole service, with equal gallantry and conduct. Indeed, every captain and officer, whether by land or water, exerted himself with uncommon diligence and resolution. The greatest harmony subsisted between the commanders, officers, and men, in the different departments of the service; and the soldiers and seamen vied with each other in expressions of mutual good-will, as well as in feats of valour and activity.

The admiral, having sounded the coast, discovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the southward of Manilla. On the twenty-fourth day of September, the proper dispositions being made, and the three frigates, Argo, Sea-horse, and Seaford, moored very near the shore, to cover the descent; three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the sea-captains Parker, Pempenfeldt, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata, not without some difficulty from a great surf that rolled on the beach. The enemy began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and infantry, to oppose the descent; but the captains,

King,

An. 1762.

The British troops
are landed.

An. 1762. King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained such a warm fire of cannon, to the right and left, that they soon dispersed; and the general disembarked his troops without the loss of one man; while the Spanish garrison were employed in burning the suburbs of Manilla. Next day the general took possession of the Polverista, a small fort which the enemy had abandoned, and which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. Colonel Monson, with an advanced party of two hundred men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about nine hundred yards from the city. The head-quarters were fixed in the curate's house, and secured by the seventy-ninth regiment, of which Mr. Draper himself was colonel, as a post of the utmost importance, both from its strength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impossible to encamp. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Polverista, to preserve the communication with the fleet, and guard the stores and artillery, which were not landed without great danger and fatigue. Some boats were overset, and lieutenant Hardwick perished on this occasion. A body of men was advanced within three hundred yards of the town, and possessed themselves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithstanding its being exposed to the fire of the enemy. The battalion of seamen, landing on the twenty-sixth, were cantoned between the seventy-ninth regiment and the marines; and the rest of the company's troops, being

being disembarked, were likewise put under cover. This day the enemy, to the number of four hundred men, with two field pieces, under the command of the chevalier Fayette, advanced on the right of the English advanced post, the flank of which they began to cannonade : but colonel Monson, at the head of the picquets, and a small reinforcement of seamen, soon drove them back into the town, with such precipitation, that they left one of their field-pieces on the glacis.

The governor had been already twice summoned to surrender, but returned a resolute refusal ; and, indeed, if the valour of his troops had corresponded with the vigour of his declaration, he had but little to apprehend from an handful of enemies, who, far from being in a condition to invest the city on all sides, were obliged to confine their operations to one corner, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front, which the general resolved to attack, was defended by the bastions of St. Diego, and St. Andrew ; a ravelin, which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The bastions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine brass cannon : but the ravelin was not armed ; nor the covered way in good repair : the glacis was too low, and the ditch was not carried round the capital of the bastion of St. Diego. The breadth of the ditch was about thirty yards, and the depth of water did not exceed five feet. It was sounded by a detachment, headed by captain Fletcher, who begged leave to undertake this dangerous enterprize, which he atchieved in the

Operations be-
gun
against
the town.

midst

An. 1762. midst of the enemy's fire, with the loss of three men. Some straggling seamen having been murdered by the savages, the governor sent out a flag of truce on the twenty-seventh, to apologize for these barbarities, and request the release of his own nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay, by the boats of the fleet. He had been dispatched in a galley, by the commander of the Gallion Philippina, just arrived from Acapulco, at Cajayagan, near Cape Spirito Santo, with the first advices of the war. Next day, while lieutenant Fryar, with a flag of truce, conducted this prisoner to the town, a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers: when the savages, without respecting the law of nations, or the sacred character of an officer, under the protection of a flag of truce, fell upon Mr. Fryar, with the most inhuman fury, and murdered him on the spot. They even mangled his body in the most brutal manner, and mortally wounded the Spanish gentleman who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack, they were soon repulsed by the British party that defended the post, who were so exasperated by their barbarity, that they gave them no quarter.

Progress
of the
siege.

Mean while several mortars bombarded the town day and night, without ceasing; and the engineers were employed in erecting batteries to play upon their works. On the twenty-ninth, the admiral, at Mr. Draper's request, ordered the Elizabeth, commodore Tiddeman, and the Falmouth, captain Brereton, to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and enfilade the enemy's front, with

with a view to second the operations of the besiegers. They performed this service with great intrepidity; and, although the shallows kept them at too great a distance to answer the purpose effectually, their fire did not fail to produce great confusion and terror among the inhabitants. On the first and second days of October, the weather was so tempestuous, as to endanger the whole squadron, which lay upon a lee-shore. The South-sea Castle store-ship was driven ashore, and, even in that situation, did remarkable service, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward, with her guns, and keeping in awe a large body of Indians, who threatened an attack on the *Polverista*, and the magazines of the besiegers at the *Malata*. Notwithstanding the storm and heavy rains, the troops and seamen compleated several batteries of cannon and mortars; finished a parallel and communication from thence to the advanced-post at the church, and established a spacious place of arms on the left of it, near the sea, the roaring of which favoured the workmen in the night, by preventing the noise they made from being heard by the garrison. On the third, the battery being opened against the left face of *St. Diego's* bastion, was so well served by the seamen and corps of artillery, and the fire so well directed by the conduct and skill of major *Barker*, that, in a few hours, twelve pieces of cannon, mounted on the face of the bastion, were totally silenced, and the enemy obliged to retire. At night, a battery was begun of three guns on the left of the place of arms, to silence those that were in barbette, upon the orillon of the *St. Andrew* bastion,

An. 1762. bastion, which annoyed the flank of the besiegers. A close fire of grape-shot and musquetry was maintained all night, to prevent the enemy from repairing their embrasures, and remounting their cannon; while seven mortars played, without ceasing, upon the gorge of the bastion, and the contiguous defences.

Furious
sally from
the town.

On the fourth, the cantonment of the seamen was attacked about three hours before day, by a strong body of Indians, encouraged to this attempt by the incessant rains, which, they hoped, had rendered the fire-arms unserviceable. Their approach was facilitated by a number of thick bushes growing on the side of a rivulet, through which they passed in the night, without being perceived by the patrols. The alarm was no sooner given, than colonel Monson and captain Fletcher advanced with the picquets to the assistance of the seamen, who had very judiciously kept firm within their posts, contenting themselves with acting on the defence, until the light should render objects more distinguishable. The assailants, though armed chiefly with bows and lances, advanced in the most resolute manner to the attack; fought with incredible ferocity; when repulsed, returned with redoubled fury to the very muzzles of the English musquets; and died like wild beasts, gnawing their bayonets. At day-break, a fresh picquet of the seventy-ninth regiment appearing upon their right flank, they gave way, and fled with great precipitation, having lost three hundred men in their attack and retreat. This action was no sooner determined, than another body of them, reinforced by part of the Spanish troops,

troops, made a furious onset upon the church, part of which they possessed, after having expelled the spoys that were here posted. From the top they did some execution among the English soldiers, who, though now exposed without the least cover to their fire and missiles, maintained their post behind the church, without flinching; and, after a warm contest, dislodged the enemy, by the assistance of some field-pieces, and the resolute conduct of major Fell, captain Fletcher, and other gallant officers sent to their relief. Seventy Spaniards were left dead upon the spot; and this, with the former action, cost the besiegers about forty men, including captain Strahan of the seventy-ninth regiment, and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers, who lost their lives, and fell universally regretted.

This was the enemy's last effort: the greater part of their Indians, discouraged by repeated defeats, returned to their own habitations. The fire from the garrison grew faint; and all their defences appeared to be in a ruinous condition. On the fifth, the fire of the besiegers was so well directed, that the breach became practicable; and it was hoped the garrison would demand a capitulation: but they seemed to be obstinate and sullen, without courage or activity: they had not exerted themselves in repairing their works; and now they neglected all means of obtaining favourable terms, without having taken the resolution to defend the breach; so that the English general made a disposition for storming the town.

A breach
is effect-
ed.

An. 1762.
Manilla
taken by
Storm.

On the sixth, at four o'clock in the morning, the troops destined for this service, filed off from their quarters, in small bodies, to avoid suspicion, and gradually assembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themselves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery. Mean while, major Barker maintained a close fire upon the works of the enemy, and those places where they might be lodged or intrenched, the mortars co-operating in the same service. At day-break, a large body of Spaniards was seen formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended assault, and had resolved to annoy the assailants with musquetry and grape-shot from the retired flank of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service; but a few shells falling among them, they retired in confusion. The British troops seized this opportunity, and, directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault, under cover of the thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Ruffel, at the head of sixty volunteers, led the way, being supported by the grenadiers of the nineteenth regiment, to which he belonged. They were followed by the engineers, with the pioneers, and other workmen, to clear and enlarge the breach, and make lodgments, in case the enemy should have been found intrenched in the gorge of the bastion. Colonel Monson and major More headed two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment. The next corps that advanced, was the battalion of seamen, sustained by the other two divisions of the

the seventy-ninth; and the troops of the East-India company formed the rear. According to colonel Draper's own account the total of the troops with which he entered Manilla amounted to little more than two thousand, a motley composition of seamen, soldiers, Sipoyes, Cafres, Lascars, Topasees, French and German deserters. These assailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and rapidity; while the Spaniards, on the bastion, retired so suddenly, that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Capt. Stephenson was immediately ordered to examine the ground; but this precaution was needless. The English troops penetrated into the town with very little opposition, except at the royal gate, where there was a guard-house, defended by one hundred Spaniards and Indians, who, refusing to surrender, were put to the sword. They were likewise considerably galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, by which the great square was surrounded. Three hundred of the garrison were drowned in attempting to pass the river, which was deep and rapid; the governor, with the principal magistrates, retiring into the citadel. This retreat was in itself imprudent, because they did not so much as attempt either to defend themselves or to make their escape, and it was accordingly attended with the most disagreeable consequences. Colonel Draper, having no offer of capitulation or surrender made him, could not prevent his troops, for some hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciousness to which a city taken by storm is subjected from the common men; and those he commanded, we may easily

An. 1762. suppose, excepting the few regulars among them, were of the most unruly kind. At last the citadel, being in no condition of defence, the archbishop and the magistrates surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion; and it was immediately occupied by captain Dupont, with one hundred men of the seventy-ninth regiment. The marquis de Villamedina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war, on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. The success of the victors was the more agreeable, as it was obtained with very little bloodshed; their loss in the action did not exceed twenty men, though this was embittered by the death of major More, who fell transfix'd with an arrow, near the royal gate.

Surrender
of Cavite.

Manilla was no sooner possessed by the British forces, than the admiral went on shore to consult with general Draper on this great event; and to settle a capitulation *. This was found to be a matter of considerable difficulty. When the archbishop and magistrates appeared, the two English

* We have been more explicit upon the circumstances attending this capitulation, on account of the disputes afterwards raised by the Spaniards concerning the performance of it; and we have illustrated the Gazette account from col. Draper's letter. "The destruction (says the colonel) that we could have occasioned would have trebled the loss they suffer by payment of the ransom. The rich churches

and convents, the king of Spain's own palace, with its superb and costly furniture the magnificent buildings of every sort, the fortifications docks, magazines, founderies cannon, and, in short, the whole, might have been entirely ruined, the Spanish empire in Asia subverted, and the fruits of their religious missions lost for ever, together with the lives of many thousand inhabitants."

commander

commanders humanely told them, they were ready to settle a capitulation that might save so fine a city from destruction ; and ordered them to withdraw, consult, and propose such terms of compensation as might satisfy the fleet and army, and exempt them from pillage and its fatal consequences. Upon their return they brought a draught of terms, in the name of the archbishop, the royal audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, which were so unsuitable to their desperate situation, that they were rejected as unsatisfactory and inadmissible, because they contained no mention of a compensation to the victors for saving the place from utter destruction. The English commanders then took the pen, and dictated the conditions on which the city of Manilla should be preserved from plunder, and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, liberties, and properties, under the government and protection of his Britannic majesty. In this paper the British commanders promised that the terms proposed by the archbishop and the magistrates should be granted, if those of the ransom were complied with ; to which the Spaniards consented. In consequence of this capitulation the town and port of Cavite, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be surrendered to his Britannic majesty ; and four millions of dollars paid as a ransom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, on the other hand, were to be secured in their religion and private property, under the government and protection of the king of England. As for the Spanish troops, which did not exceed three hun-

An. 1762. dred, they were disarmed in the mean time, in order to be disposed of at more leisure. The port and citadel of Cavite were surrendered, together with several large ships, and a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores. The Spanish garrison of three hundred men, instead of quietly surrendering the place, in consequence of the governor's order, mutinied against their officers; and, having plundered some houses, retired with their arms to the country. Captain Campion, with two hundred men, being embarked in the Sea-horse, took possession of the place, and captain Kempenfeldt was appointed governor of it, by a commission from the general. One third of the ransom of Manilla was allowed to the East-India company; and Mr. Draper, according to the instructions he had received, delivered up the city of Manilla, the port of Cavite, with all their artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores, to Dawson Drake, Esq; and the other individuals appointed to receive them in behalf of that company. All the British forces employed in this expedition were but barely sufficient to garrison these important conquests, which were achieved with so little loss, that not above one hundred men were killed in the whole service. The public, however, had reason to regret the fate of commodore Tiddeman, a brave and experienced officer, who, in attempting to enter the river in his barge, on the morning that succeeded the reduction of the place, was unfortunately drowned with five of his people.

The acquisition of Luconia, with its towns, treasures, artillery, stores, islands, and dependencies,

was rendered compleat by another fortunate event. Admiral Cornish no sooner understood by the letters taken in the galley with the Spanish governor's nephew, that the Galleon Philippina was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, than he sent the Panther and Argo in quest of her, two ships of war, commanded by the captains Parker and King; the first of the line; the other a frigate. On the thirtieth day of October, being off the island Capul, near the entrance of the Embocadero, they descried a sail standing to the northward. The Argo being driven by the current among the Narangos, was obliged to anchor: but captain King, in the frigate, coming up with the chace, engaged her for near two hours, during which he was roughly handled, and even obliged to desist, until his damage could be repaired. The current slackening, captain Parker was enabled to get under sail; and, about nine next morning, came up with the enemy, who, after having been cannonaded two hours at a very small distance, struck their colours and surrendered: but the captain was not a little surprised, when the Spanish general came on board, to learn that, instead of the St. Philippina, he had taken the Santissima Trinidad, which had departed from Manilla on the first day of August, bound for Acapulco, and had sailed three hundred leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but, meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being dismasted, was obliged to put back and refit. She was a very large ship, so thick in the sides, that the shot of the Panther did not penetrate any part of her, except the upper works. She had eight hundred men on

An. 1762.
Capture
of the
Santissi-
ma Trini-
dad.

An. 1762. board; and was pierced for sixty cannon; but no more than thirteen were mounted. The merchandize on board was registered to the amount of one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo supposed to be worth double that sum; so that this capture was a valuable addition to the conquest, and a fresh wound to the enemy.

Reflections on the war with Spain.

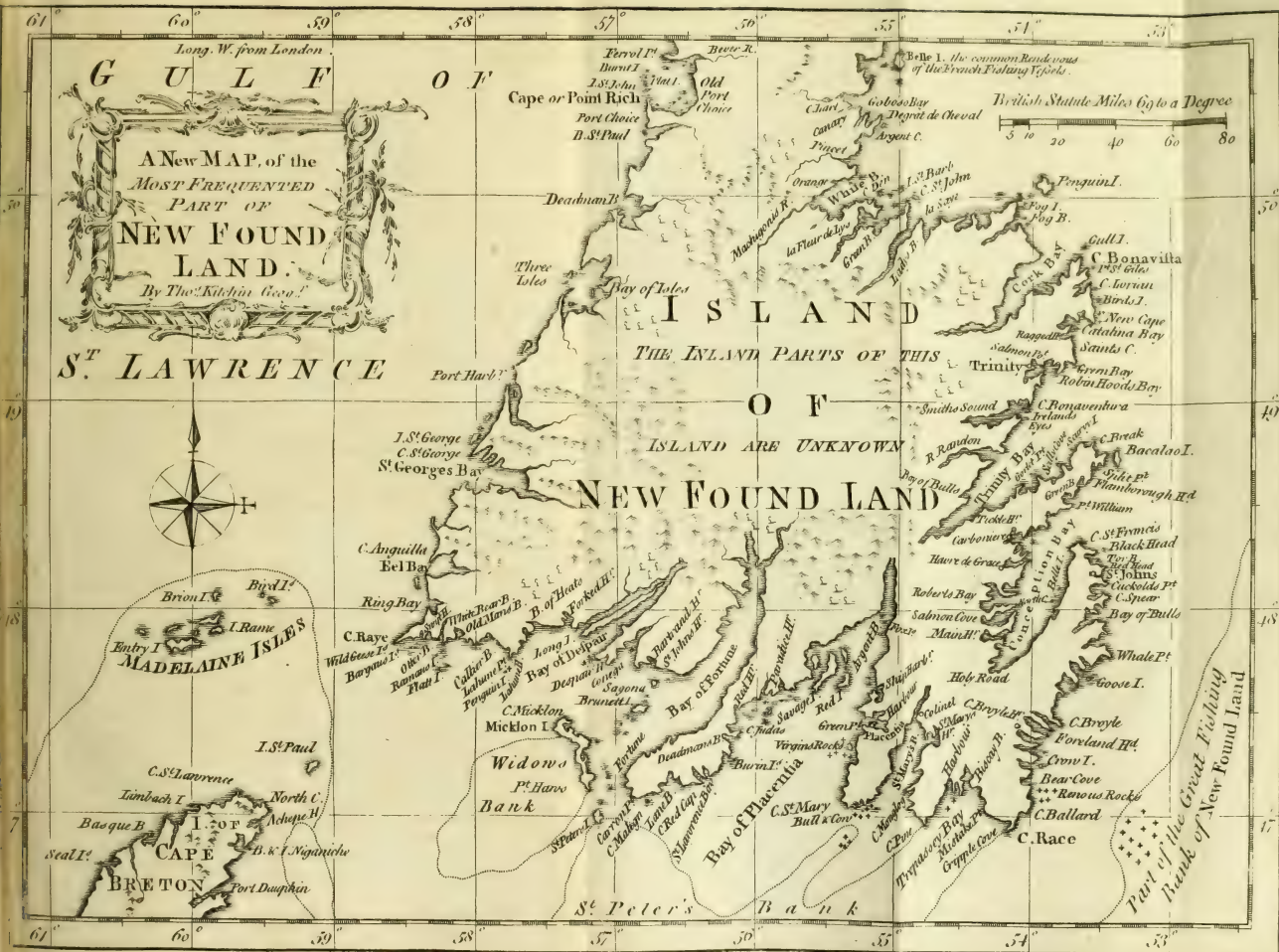
At no period of time had the Spanish monarchy suffered such grievous and mortifying disasters, as those she sustained in the course of this year, from a war into which she was precipitately plunged, against all the dictates of sound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of her sovereign. The Spaniards will do well to remember that from all their contests with England, many of which they have prosecuted with an illiberal spirit of Gothic cruelty and religious rancour, they have reaped nothing but damage and disgrace. It will be for their interest to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, as an alliance productive of benefits to their country; and to avoid her resentment as a storm big with ruin to their commerce and their colonies, from whence the importance of their nation, and the chief support of their monarchy, are derived.

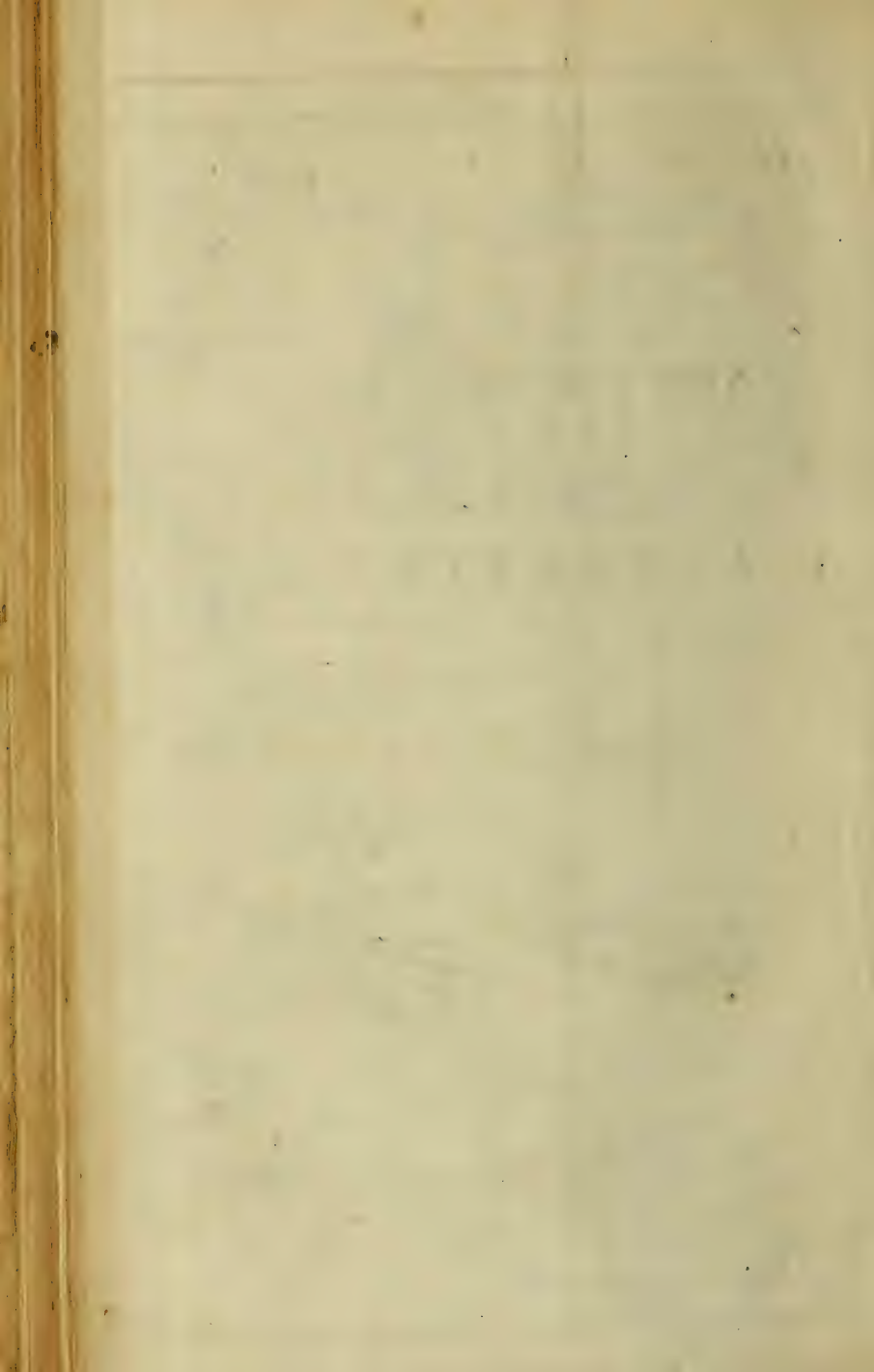
Recovery of St. John's, in Newfoundland.

The recovery of St. John's, in Newfoundland, was likewise numbered among the wonderful successes which gave a lustre to the British arms in the course of this autumn.

Lord Colville no sooner received advice of the progress which the French armament had made on the coast of Newfoundland, than he sailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St.

John's





John's by sea, even while Mr. de Ternay, the French commodore, lay at anchor in it, with a superior squadron. On the eleventh day of September, his lordship was joined by colonel Amherst, who had been ordered on this service by his brother sir Jeffery Amherst, commander of the forces in America. The colonel had touched at Louisbourg, and taken on board some troops, which, with those embarked at Halifax, amounted to about eight hundred, chiefly highlanders and light infantry. They were landed, after a short resistance, in Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John's; and this part of the country was rendered difficult by mountains and passes occupied by the enemy. The British forces advanced to the strong post of Kitty-vitty, which they took sword in hand. They likewise drove the enemy from two other heights which they had fortified, and did not abandon without bloodshed. On the sixteenth of September, they encamped in the neighbourhood of St. John's Fort, and, next day, a mortar battery was completed. The French commodore had sunk some shallops in the entrance of the harbour, which was commanded by a breast-work and unfinished battery. These being taken, and the channel opened, colonel Amherst received his artillery and stores, by water conveyance: but lord Colville was driven by contrary winds, to some distance from the coast. In his absence, Mr. de Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, to slip his cables and make his escape. His ships were seen at a great distance from the top-mast heads of the British squadron, steering south, south-east; but
not

An.1762. not supposed to be the ships of Mr. de Ternay. On the eighteenth, in the morning, Mr. de Haussonville, the commander of the French forces at St. John's, who had been summoned, and refused to surrender, thought proper to demand a capitulation; and yielded himself, with his garrison, prisoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Brest with the first opportunity. They were a fine body of troops, very near equal in number to the besiegers; and lord Colville, who had by this time returned to the harbour, prepared ships for their transportation to France. Thus the town and fort of St. John's, with all the other petty places which the French had taken on this coast, were recovered, with very little loss, by a handful of troops, who acted with most remarkable resolution, and surmounted many difficulties by dint of indefatigable labour and perseverance. In this short expedition, lieutenant Schuyler, of the royal Americans, was killed. Captain Macdonald died of the wounds he received in attacking one of the enemy's fortified posts. The captains Bailie and Mackenzie were likewise wounded, but recovered; and not above twenty men were lost in all the different actions.

Disputes
about the
peace in
England.

While the British troops were thus encountering dangers and difficulties abroad, and spending their best blood with alacrity, for the honour and advantage of their country, the people at home were heated and inflamed to a very dangerous degree of faction. Indeed, by this time, the commonalty through the whole kingdom had loudly declared for the professed enemies of the ministry: and the clamour against the peace was augmented by the voice

voice of many, who, in other respects, had no objection to the person of the minister. With respect to the articles of the peace, which were now pretty well known, though the preliminaries had not been formally signed, many papers and pamphlets were written and published on both sides of the question. It was taken for granted that great part of the British conquests would be restored; therefore laboured comparisons were drawn between Canada and the French sugar islands, in which the importance of each was magnified or depreciated with all the artifice of misrepresentation, according to the interested views of the different authors who drew their pens upon this occasion. Whether it was necessary to give up the conquered islands, we shall not pretend to determine; but those who argued for restoring Canada, rather than Guadalupe, were either extremely ignorant of the true interests of Great Britain, or influenced by motives of private advantage, which they resolved to obey at the hazard of sowing the seeds of a new war in North-America: for, exclusive of the commercial advantages immediately derived from the possession of Canada, that is, the entire fur trade of a vast continent, it effectually secured the British colonies in that part of the world, which could not possibly be safe while the French retained their settlements on the lakes, the river and gulph of St. Laurence.

The most sanguine politicians insisted upon a continuation of the war, which would, in another campaign, add the island of St. Domingo to the other conquests; of consequence, give the finishing stroke

Objections to the articles,

An. 1762. stroke to the commerce and navigation of France, and enable Great Britain to supply all Europe with sugar on her own terms. They affirmed that, in the mean time, public credit could receive no great shock, inasmuch as it appeared in the course of the preceding year, that the government might have borrowed much greater sums than were necessary for the annual expence of the war. This, however, was a fallacious argument. True it is, great sums were offered; but these offers were not the effect of affluence, but of avarice. Every individual who could command a sum of ready money, being allured by the high premiums which the government allowed, hastened to join in the subscription. A vile spirit of usury took possession of the people. Just debts were left unpaid: sacred deposits of trust were invaded. The whole specie of the united kingdom centered in the capital; so that the extremities were left destitute. Personal credit, the soul and essence of a trading nation, was at an end; manufactures languished; and scarce any commerce was to be seen, but the infamous traffick of stock-jobbing.

Remarks
on the
excepti-
ons tak-
en.

Another set of patriots declared they had no objection to a peace, provided the nation retained the islands of Martinique and Guadalupe, together with Canada and Cape Breton, and the French should be totally excluded from the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, which last was not only a source of great wealth, but also the chief nursery of their framen, by means of which they had been enabled to contest the superiority with Great Britain, in every branch of commerce. Without

all

all doubt, England, by the possession of those islands and the exclusive fishery, would have derived great advantages, and, in particular, must have engrossed almost the whole Guinea trade for slaves and gum, which the French had for many years carried on to the greatest extent. They observed that France had no right to demand the restoration of their islands, as they had nothing to give by way of compensation for such a sacrifice: that Belleisle was an equivalent for Minorca; that they could have as little pretence for insisting upon a share of the fishery: that, with respect to Spain, it would be weak and impolitic to give up at any rate the important conquest of the Hayanna, which must of course be followed by the reduction of the whole island of Cuba, very near as extensive as Great Britain; the most healthy, fertile, and delightful of all the countries hitherto discovered in that part of the world: but, that it would be a mark of still greater imbecility, to part with this conquest, without establishing the right of the British subjects to cut logwood and erect forts for their security in the bay of Honduras, and to navigate in those seas, without search or molestation; without obliging Spain to relinquish all title to the fishery of Newfoundland; to cede the whole country of Florida to Great Britain; and make signal satisfaction for the shameful partiality she had, since the beginning of the war, shewn in favour of France, to the prejudice of the English subjects. All these points deserved consideration.

Had Great Britain fought for herself alone, and restricted her efforts to her own element, she might have

An. 1762. have retained all her conquests, and even have found her account in the prosecution of hostilities: but she was saddled with the protection of her allies; and, on their account, involved in a double continental war, the expence of which over-balanced all the advantages she could derive from the success of her arms. France and Spain declared, in plain terms, that, without the restitution of the islands and the Havanna, peace could be of no advantage to them; that they would rather hazard the prosecution of the war, which, in the long run, must exhaust the finances and credit of England; and, in the mean time, redouble their efforts in making an entire conquest of Portugal, which it would not be in the power of the British auxiliaries to protect.

Prelimi-
naries
signed.

Perhaps the m——y of Great Britain discovered an eagerness for peace in the negotiation, which encouraged the courts of Versailles and Madrid to insist upon more favourable terms than, otherwise, they would have been glad to embrace. Be that as it may, the preliminaries were signed on both sides, and interchanged at Versailles about the latter end of November: an event which was immediately communicated to the city of London, by a letter from the under-secretary of state, to the lord-mayor. The capital was still in a ferment, which the chief magistrate took very little pains to allay. The opposition had been gathering strength ever since the negotiation was renewed. Measures were taken for effecting a coalition between the d—ke of N—w—le and Mr. P—tt, who had hitherto kept aloof from each other, at the head of
their

their respective partisans. It is certain that the former, for some time, had been no friend to that minister's measures. He saw his own importance dwindle by the continuance of the war, in proportion as it was successful. He secretly encouraged the attacks that were made upon Mr. P—t's measures, and, had not lord B—e stepped in, he himself would have headed the pacific system. But they were far less disunited from one another than each was to lord B—e. At last common enmity united them, and they joined their endeavours to persuade the people that the p——t would never ratify the conditions of such an infamous peace. On the other hand, the members of the administration did not fail to take every proper measure that could ensure the approbation of the legislature. By this time the earl of Halifax was joined with the earl of Egremont, as secretary of state; and Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the admiralty. Mr. F—x exerted himself successfully in securing the concurrence of many individuals in the lower house; and almost the whole landed interest was well affected to the measures of the government.

On the twenty-fifth day of November, the parliament being assembled, his majesty harranged them from the throne. He observed, that the late war with Spain, and the attack of his ally, the king of Portugal, having greatly affected the commerce of his subjects, multiplied the objects of his military operations, and added to the heavy burthens of his people; he had willingly embraced an occasion that offered of renewing the negotiation

Meeting
of parlia-
ment.

for

An 1763 for peace. He gave them to understand, that the preliminary articles were actually signed: that, by the conditions in which all parties had acquiesced, an immense territory was added to the empire of Great Britain; and a solid foundation laid for the increase of commerce; that care had been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes; that the king of Portugal was secured in all his dominions; and that all the territories of his German allies were evacuated by the troops of France. He lamented that a great number of his subjects had been lost in different parts of the world; a consideration which reinforced the other reasons he had to engage in the negotiation; and that he had hastened the conclusion of it, to prevent the necessity of making preparations for another campaign. He desired the commons to consider of such methods in the settlement of the new acquisitions, as should most effectually tend to the security of those countries, and to the improvement of the British trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention, his gallant subjects by whose valour those acquisitions were made. He observed, that union at home was peculiarly necessary to lay the foundation of that oeconomy which they owed to themselves and their posterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the necessities of a long expensive war.

Articles
of peace
approved
by both
houses.

In answer to this speech, addresses were presented as usual by both houses, containing general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales;

next

next day a cessation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were given for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain. When the upper house took the articles of the peace into consideration, many objections were made by the lords in the opposition; and some severe reflections were thrown out against the earl of B—te, with appearance of heat and personal animosity. That nobleman defended his own conduct with temper and decorum, in a well connected speech delivered with great propriety, to the surprise of many who did not think him so well qualified in the art and faculty of elocution. He gave a detail of the negotiation; and not only owned himself a warm promoter of the peace, but even expressed a desire that this circumstance should be engraved upon his tomb. He was seconded by the earl of Halifax, and supported by a great majority.

The same good fortune attended the administration in the other house, where the opposition made its appearance in a number that was by no means formidable. Mr. P—tt, though in his health greatly indisposed, resolved to disapprove the peace in person. He came into the house, supported on the arms of his friends, and obtained of the speaker permission to harangue sitting. In this attitude he spoke above two hours without intermission. The scope of his speech was to justify his own conduct in the administration; and to give his opinion of the separate articles of the peace, which, upon the whole, he condemned as inadequate to the success of the British arms. It is true he himself had

- An.1762. in the course of the preceding year, agreed to articles much less advantageous to Great Britain : but he insisted upon the conquests made since that period ; and it was observed on the other side, that, if fresh advantages had been gained, new incumbrances were added by the war with Spain, the protection of Portugal, the interruption of trade with both those nations ; the increase of the national debt ; and the want of men to recruit the army and navy. In a word, Mr. P—it was not heard with that attention and applause which he had formerly commanded. The mayor of London spoke on the same side, without making much impression ; and both houses agreed upon addresses of approbation, which were presented accordingly.
- An.1763. The definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the tenth day of February, was couched in these terms :

The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same Day.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those to whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong.

“ It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world,

world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having arisen between England and France, during the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, his successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal: consequently, the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treasurer, and Elector, of the Holy Roman Empire; the most serene and most potent prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the Grace of God, most Christian King; and the most serene and most potent prince, Charles the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, signed at Fountainbleau the 3d of November last; and the most serene and most potent prince, Don Joseph the First, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, &c. his minister

An. 1763. of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Christian King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Caesar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies, and of the province of Brittany, Counsellor in all his Councils, and Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred Majesty the Catholick King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the most Christian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majesty's Bed-chamber in employment, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the Order of Christ, of his most Faithful Majesty's Council, and his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty.

“ Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows :

“ Art. I. There shall be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick,

Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places, or of persons : so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence, whatsoever ; and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties : there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or since, the commencement of the war which is just ended.

“ Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswyck of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the defi-

An. 1763. native treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crown of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713; between France and Portugal, with the guarantees of Great Britain; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and the present treaty: and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word; so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

“ Art. III. All the prisoners made on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their

their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other : and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant vessels, which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored bona fide, with all their crews and cargoes : and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

“ Art. IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts ; and guarantees the whole of it, and with it all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain : Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the Most Christian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants,

An. 1763. so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: He will, consequently, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

“ Art. V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the

the present treaty (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence) : And his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the Most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton ; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

“ Art. VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as shelter to the French fishermen : and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands ; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery ; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

“ Art. VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America ; it is agreed, that, for the future,
the

An. 1763. the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannick Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

“ Art. VIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadeloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were

were conquered by the British arms ; provided An. 1763.
that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have
settled in the said islands, or those who shall have
any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the
other places restored to France by the present treaty,
shall have liberty to sell their lands and their
estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts,
and bring away their effects, as well as their persons,
on board vessels, which they shall be permitted
to send to the said islands, and other places restored
as above, and which shall serve for this use
only, without being restrained on account of their
religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever,
except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions :
and for this purpose the term of eighteen months
is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to
be computed from the day of the exchange of the
ratifications of the present treaty : But as the liberty
granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects
to bring away their persons and their effects, in
vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses,
if precautions were not taken to prevent them ; it
has been expressly agreed between his Britannick
Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the
number of English vessels, which shall have leave
to go to the said islands and places restored to
France, shall be limited, as well as the number of
tons of each one ; that they shall go in ballast ;
shall set sail at a fixed time ; and shall make one
voyage only, all the effects belonging to the English
being to be embarked at the same time. It
has been further agreed, that his Most Christian
Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be
given

An. 1763. given to the said vessels ; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandise which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

“ Art. IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada : and the partition of the islands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right ; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

“ Art. X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered : and his Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam ; and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

“ Art. XI. In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orisa, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian

Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions to the acquisition which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouilly in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And, in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one side or on the other, during the war.

“ Art. XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

“ Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance

An. 1763. trance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholsomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

“ Art. XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty’s arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight, and metal.

“ Art. XV. In case the stipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be completed at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective sovereigns: their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties promise to proceed, bona fide; with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner

sooner if it can be done : and their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties further engage and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany. An. 1763.

“ Art. XVI. The decision of the prizes made in time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

“ Art. XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty : and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannick Majesty’s subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away, logwood : and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects : and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers, on the Spanish coasts and terri-

An.1763. territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

“ Art. XVIII. His Catholick Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretensions, which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

“ Art. XIX. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortrefs of the Havanna; and this fortrefs, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecution: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may

may be liable to abuses, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

“ Art. XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east or to the south-east of the river Mississippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholick King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes

An. 1763. over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholick religion : He will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit : His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper ; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions : The term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

“ Art XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his most Faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in

in when conquered, with the same artillery, and ammunition, which were found there: and with regard to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

“ Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively and bona fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

“ Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

“ Art. XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March

An.1763. next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The fortress of the Havana, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty,

treaty, or sooner, if it can be done : and, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his Most Faithful Majesty in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty ; and the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

“ Art. XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

“ Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty ; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects ; and the said high contracting parties, generally

An.1763. and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

“ Art. XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

“ In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.”

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. **S**OME of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in their full powers and other acts, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged ; it has been agreed, That no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted on either side, on occasion of the said negotiation and of the present treaty, shall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

“ II.

II. It has been agreed and determined, That the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform themselves, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are used, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the afore-said custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his Most Faithful Majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty; consequently, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, respectively and conjointly, promise to his Most Faithful Majesty, in the most express and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present separate articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

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Declaration of his Most Christian Majesty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great Britain having desired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills which have been delivered to the Canadians for the necessaries furnished to the French troops, should be secured, his Most Christian Majesty, entirely disposed to render to every one that justice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the said bills and letters of exchange shall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the places, and to what shall be possible ; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange which are in the possession of the new subjects of the King of Great Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister of his Most Christian Majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February 1763.

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.)

Declara-

Declaration of his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coast of Coromandel, and Orixá, declare, in the name, and by order of his said Britannick Majesty, that the said dominions of the Subah of Bengal shall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon exclusively, and that Yanaon shall be considered as included in the north part of the coast of Coromandel or Orixá.

In witness whereof, &c.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

[His Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties' full powers to their respective Ministers Plenipotentiary, with the accession of his Most Faithful Majesty, his full power, and declaration of his minister (importing that no consequence shall be drawn from the alternative observed on the parts of the King of Great Britain, and the Most Christian King, with the most Faithful King, in the act of accession of the court of Portugal) are all the other papers that relate to this important transaction; but are here omitted, as containing only matters of mere form.]

The

An. 1763.
Observa-
tions on
the trea-
ty.

The reader will, at one glance, perceive that these terms are more advantageous to Great Britain and her allies, than those which were agreed to by the late minister. He must determine for himself, whether they were such as she ought to have insisted upon, in consequence of her additional successes. Certainly they were more favourable for France and Spain, than those powers could have reasonably expected to enjoy, after the losses they had sustained. It must be acknowledged that Great Britain, by **extending** the frontiers of Canada, to the middle of the Mississippi, gained a large tract of fertile country lying on the banks of that river, besides the advantage of a free navigation upon it, and the possession of the port of Mobile: but, in order to secure the English American colonies from all possibility of disturbance from the French, that restless nation ought to have been expelled from New Orleans, and the whole country of Louisiana; for, while they remain in this settlement, at liberty to penetrate by the river to the remote tribes of Indians, they will still maintain their influence among those savages: they will supply them with necessaries, consequently weaken their dependence upon the English; and employ their arts of insinuation upon them so effectually, as to have it always in their power to hunt them upon the defenceless back-settlements of the British colonists. It does not appear that the British ministry were well acquainted with the importance of this article.

England, by this peace, likewise gained an accession, in France's ceding to her the island of Grenada, which, when fully cultivated and peopled, may be of some consequence. She moreover acquired the unsettled islands of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent; but yielded to France the island of St. Lucie, said to be worth all the rest. She retains the settlement of Senegal on the coast of Africa, by which she engrosses the whole gum trade of that country; as for the rock of Goree, which she restored, it was no great sacrifice. The article that relates to the East-Indies, was dictated by the directors of the English company; and surely the French have no reason to complain of its severity, as it restores them to the possession of all the places they had at the beginning of the war, on condition that they shall maintain neither forts nor forces in the kingdom of Bengal; thus they will enjoy all their former advantages in trade, without the temptation and expence of forming schemes of conquest and dominion.

The demolition of the works belonging to the harbour of Dunkirk, is no doubt a sensible mortification to France, though of little consequence to England, while a squadron of ships is kept at anchor in the Downs. It became an object of some consideration in the war of queen Anne, as a nest of privateers that infested the channel; and was afterwards used as an inflammatory term of faction. The danger that may threaten England from Dunkirk, does not depend upon vessels which could be received into the harbour; but must arise from a strong squadron of ships of the line, which
may

An. 1763. may always lie at anchor in the road. It is undoubtedly in the power of France to embark twenty thousand men on the coast of Calais and Dunkirk; and these, taking the advantage of a strong easterly wind, which will not allow the British squadron in the Downs to move from their riding, may, under convoy of ten sail of the line, reach the mouth of the river Thames, in fourteen hours. Tilbury fort, opposite to Gravesend, which is the only strength that guards the channel, might be silenced in two hours, by two or three ships of the line; and then the whole armament might proceed to Blackwall, without further opposition. Every lover of his country must be shocked at the thoughts of what would happen, if twenty thousand French troops, with the pretender at their head, should land within six miles of the capital. In two hours he would be joined by an equal number of partisans, in arms, either induced by affection to his family, or instigated by the hope of plunder. From that moment, public credit would fail; and London be obliged to receive law from the invader. This dreadful picture we draw by way of caution to the government, which may easily prevent any such disaster, by fortifying the rivers Thames and Medway, on both sides, at those places where their channels are the most easily commanded, and keeping a strong squadron of ships always ready for service, at the Nore, or in the harbour of Sheerness. Granting that such an invasion was attended with much greater difficulty, it will be the interest of France, upon certain occasions, to sacrifice twenty thousand men meerly to try the experiment.

As the treaty makes no mention of the ships taken from the subjects of France before the declaration of war, in all probability, the king of Great Britain agreed that their owners should be indemnified; a concession which barely atones for a measure which (whatever may have been alledged in its justification) will always be considered by the candid and impartial, as an act of violence and rapine, that strikes at the very root of the law of nations, which, for the interests of humanity in general, ought to be held sacred, even amidst the warmest transports of animosity and resentment.

The liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, granted to the subjects of Great Britain, was undoubtedly a great point gained in their favour; but their obliging themselves to demolish their fortifications on that coast, was a tacit acknowledgment that the privilege was not founded upon right, but derived from favour. His catholic majesty's renouncing all pretensions in favour of his subjects, to the right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland, was a puny sacrifice, something in appearance, but nothing in reality: for the claim was almost as obsolete as that of the English monarch to the dominions of France. The cession of Florida, with the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, to Great Britain, was an object of much greater importance. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi. It removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually making their escape to St. Augustine. It deprived the Spaniards of an easy avenue, through which they had it in their power to
invade

An. 1763. invade Georgia and Carolina ; it afforded a large extent of improveable territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade, and the annoyance of the Spaniards in any future contest. But neither the cession of Florida, nor the renunciation of the right to the fishery, nor the permission granted to the English logwood cutters, nor the evacuation of Portugal ; nor all these articles together, can ever be esteemed equivalent to the restitution of the Havanna ; for which, indeed, the Spanish monarch had no suitable compensation to make, without dismembring his kingdom, unless he had thrown into the scale with his other concessions, that of a free navigation, without search, to the British traders on the coast of New Spain. This was an advantage with which the people of England flattered their own imaginations : but it was a privilege which the court of Madrid could not grant, without opening the avenues of a contraband trade between the English and Spanish creoles, which would have been fatal to the commerce of Old Spain : because, in that case, his catholic majesty's American subjects would have supplied themselves at the first hand, with European commodities, from the trading ships of Great Britain ; and great part of the wealth of that country would have been conveyed immediately to England.

The crown of Spain was much favoured by the article which stipulates, that the conquests, not included in the treaty either as cessions or restitutions, should be restored without compensation. Neither France nor Spain had any armament on foot, from
which

which they could expect the least acquisition or success; whereas the ministry of England had great reason to believe that the island of Luconia was already reduced.

On the whole, the treaty, tho' perhaps it might have been more favourable in some articles, certainly confirmed great and solid advantages to Great Britain; and will remain as an eternal monument of that moderation which forms the most amiable flower in the wreath of conquest.

Whilst the public was in suspense concerning the terms of the peace, the conduct of the West-Indian interest in parliament, the lead of which the lord-mayor of London assumed, was very remarkable. Those colonists, at this time, made no inconsiderable figure in the house of commons, and, before the fate of the peace was determined, they omitted neither pains nor expence to persuade the public that it was far more eligible for Great Britain to give up Martinico and Guadaloupe than Canada. Their reason for this was plain, because the retention of those islands must have diminished their own importance, and the clamorous efforts they made to render their own voice that of the public, had, undoubtedly, some weight with the ministry. But no sooner did those patriots perceive, that the cession of these islands was the measure espoused by lord B—e, and that it was in a manner irrevocable in the negotiation, than they joined heartily in the opposition to the whole system of the peace. This inconsistent behaviour gave the greater disgust to wise and considerate persons, as it was well known that the former minister had,
against

An. 1763. against his own sentiments, bought the friendship of those colonists at the same price.

Peace in
Germa-
ny.

France and England, having mutually withdrawn themselves from the war in Germany, the courts of Vienna and Berlin began to think in earnest of an accommodation. The empress queen had but little hopes of prevailing, by her own strength alone, against a prince who had so long withstood the joint efforts of so many powerful confederates. On the other hand, the k—g of P—a had no more subsidies to expect from Great Britain, and little more to gain by contribution and compulsion in the provinces of Germany, which he had already, in a great measure, depopulated and impoverished. Perhaps he was sick of a war, which, in spite of all his activity and success, had exposed him to incredible fatigue, and repeated mortification. Both parties having expressed a desire of peace, conferences were opened at Hubertsburg, by the Austrian, Prussian, and Polish plenipotentiaries; and the articles were, in a little time, adjusted. The treaties of pacification between these powers imported, that the troops on all sides should be withdrawn from the countries which had been invaded and possessed in the course of the war; that peace should be re-established on the footing of former treaties, and each party sit down quietly with the loss it had sustained.

Such was the issue of a war, sanguinary beyond example, which had raged with uncommon fury in the four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and, in the space of seven years, destroyed above a million of lives; which
had

had cost Great Britain, in particular, above two hundred and eighty thousand men, including a great number of brave and able officers, with an incredible quantity of treasure; and increased the burthen of her national debt, from fourscore, to one hundred and thirty millions sterling.

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We shall now proceed to the transactions of parliament, especially such as most strongly attracted the public attention. Oeconomy was the avowed plan of government, and the ministry laid it down as a rule of their conduct, to retrench all the expences which had been lavished during the two late reigns, for supporting the parliamentary interest of the court. These, upon enquiry, were found to be extravagant almost beyond belief, as a chain of venal dependency reached from the highest minister down to the meanest domestic, each being allowed, without enquiry or examination, to accumulate, in the most shameful manner, profits and perquisites amounting often to ten times the value of their regulated appointments. The reformation of this extravagancy, and those impositions which, instead of contributing to the dignity and support of government, debased and weakened it, occasioned an outcry from the numerous dependants of the late ministers, who pleaded practice and prescription in their favour; and many of them complained that they had bought their posts from their superiors in office, and that therefore they had a right to make as much of them as they could. But even this reformation was performed with an equitable hand: the lawful wages of those who were dis-

Affairs of parliament.

Reformation of the royal household.

An. 1763. missed were continued, even though their attendance and services were not required.

Difficulties in raising the supply.

The savings by this measure, great as they were, were inadequate to the necessities of the public, and therefore it was found necessary to have recourse to some national method of supply. The more this affair was considered, the more difficult it appeared. The duties upon malt and publicans could not be extended without public distress and danger. The necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life, were already taxed to the utmost they could bear, nor could the ablest financier in the kingdom point out an object that admitted of an additional burden. This difficulty had been foreseen and owned by the late ministers, when they planned the unpopular additional tax upon beer. The new ministry would have willingly taken their advice upon this subject, but they maintained a sullen reserve. The chancellor of the exchequer, within whose department the business of financing lies, had been put into that office from the opinion the minister entertained of his honesty rather than his abilities, which, in the art of raising supplies, are chiefly acquired by experience. The difficulties of the government were encreased by the repeated declarations they had made, that a peace was necessary, in order to lighten the pressures of the people; without, perhaps, sufficiently considering, that money is equally necessary at the conclusion, as in the middle, of a war, that the purposes of a peace may be established.

Ways and means proposed.

To raise the money necessary, it was proposed to take from the sinking-fund two millions; by loans

loans and exchequer bills, one million eight hundred thousand pounds; by annuities and two lotteries three millions five hundred thousand pounds. Nothing could be more defensible than this plan of supply; and to defray the interest of those loans, which amounted to seven million three hundred thousand pounds, an additional duty of eight pounds a ton was laid on French wines, and four pounds a ton on all other wines. No opposition was made to these imposts; but a duty of a very different kind this session passed into a law; it was that for imposing upon every hoghead of cyder a tax of four shillings, to be paid by the maker; and, with certain qualifications, to be subjected to all the laws of excise.

Duty upon cyder.

No sooner was this unpopular tax proposed, than opposition unmasked all its batteries, and attacked the whole plan of the supplies. Its patrons maintained, in direct contradiction to the ministry, and many of them to their own former declarations, that to represent the nation as exhausted, was advancing a fallacy; that the war had paid for itself; that supplies for continuing it for two years might easily be raised; that the nation never at any time possessed so much wealth, or contained so many rich individuals, as it did at that very time; that all pretences towards oeconomy were fordid and futile; and that no plan of frugality could have any sensible operation towards the payment of the public debts, but that it might terminate in loss and disgrace. The lottery-plan was objected to as encouraging the spirit of gaming, and giving an immense profit to the subscribers. The loan from the sinking fund, that sacred

Opposition to it.

An.1763. deposit, was exclaimed against as only postponing the evil day, and tending to load posterity with additional burdens.

Those objections came with no great weight from gentlemen, who, when they and their friends were in the administration, had complained of the difficulties of financing, had established the practice of lotteries, which, on all hands, were admitted to be necessary evils, and had given the greatest blows to the sinking-fund it ever had received. But the chief matter of declamation against the ministry arose from the cyder-tax. The opposition endeavoured to shew that in its plan, execution, and consequences, it was dangerous to the public tranquillity; and, in short, that it might raise a rebellious spirit in those counties it was to affect. It was sisted upon, that it was partial and oppressive, because it laid a burden, that ought to be national, upon cyder-makers only. The method of collecting it was described in the most dreadful terms; and all the arguments that had ever been made use of against the oppression and unconstitutional tendency of excises, and of their being actually badges of slavery, were renewed with all the virulence of popular and party declamation. The more refined reasoners against this duty urged, that from the smallness of the sum to be raised, it appeared evidently that the true object of the government was to gain a precedent which might extend the odious institution of excises to every branch of trade and manufactures, and consequently increase the influence of the crown, to the destruction of the properties of the people, and at last to the ruin of their liberties.

ties. So keen was the fury of opposition on this occasion, that some of its patrons urged against this tax a fact which has always been looked upon to be one of the strongest arguments for excises; the cheapness of the material from which the commodity is produced.

Such, divested of the usual ornaments of declamation and local considerations, were the arguments made use of against the ministry on the cyder tax. They and their friends, however, were not wanting to themselves, and repelled the attack with superior strength of reasoning. They challenged their opponents to point out any one object that could be taxed without doing a manifest, and, perhaps, an irreparable injury to trade and manufactures, because all duties raise the price of commodities, and thereby hurt foreign trade. As taxes must fall upon the poor equally as the rich, they contended that it was ridiculous to mention the wealth of individuals in that question, unless it was proposed to renew the practices of privy-seal loans, free-gifts, and capitation taxes. They maintained that it was absurd to think of imposing more taxes, or borrowing more money, without extreme necessity. That every tax must be attended with some incon-
 veniency, and that the duty proposed upon cyder was the most equal and the least oppressive of any that could be mentioned. They appealed to the heads of the opposition, whether the cyder counties had ever paid in any adequate proportion to the public taxes with the malting counties, where the excise has no such exemptions in favour of the poor, as were proposed in the cyder bill; and that even the

Answered
 by the
 friends of
 the go-
 vern-
 ment.

An. 1763. latter, though carried into a law, must leave the cyder counties less burdened than the malting counties towards the public supplies. They retorted upon the opposition the argument arising from the low value of the commodity, and quoted the cases of tobacco, beer, and malt spirits.

Argu-
ments in
favour of
the ex-
cise.

They offered to comply with any other mode of collection besides that of excise; but they clearly demonstrated that, if cyder was admitted to be a fit object for a tax, the excise was undoubtedly the method of collecting it, the most easy for the people, and the most advantageous for the government. With regard to the excise laws being so many badges of slavery, the notion arose from prepossession and ignorance; because the legislature had often enlarged its bounds, particularly during the administration of Mr. Pelham, when an excise tax was imposed upon tobacco, which Sir Robert Walpole would not have ventured upon; that every gentleman in England, who makes his own malt, is subject to excise laws; and that the number of British subjects dealing in exciseable commodities far exceeded the number of those whom the cyder tax was proposed to affect. That though it was true, in the question before them, the object of excise was extended, yet that its powers were contracted; the cyder makers being thereby exempted from many hardships to which other dealers in exciseable commodities were subjected.

Dissatis-
faction
without
doors.

Such is the main state of the question that was agitated previous to the passing this bill. It must be admitted that nothing but necessity, and the strongest conviction of its expediency, could justify the

the ministry in carrying it through, as they did, against the torrent of opposition it met with. Their antagonists spared no pains to make the public imagine that the opposition was general without doors. But that was far from being the case; for it was confined to the cyder counties, from whence it was communicated to the common-council of London, whom the tax could never affect in any degree worth mentioning. Future times, perhaps, may do justice to the integrity of the ministry, when it is considered that the counties which were to pay this tax, had been always zealously attached to the principles upon which the new government acted, and remarkably averse to the measures of the two last reigns.

With regard to the excessive premiums the government was obliged to give for money, the friends of the ministry did not seem to deny the charge, but threw the blame upon their predecessors, who, they said, had so frequently and so immoderately applied to public credit, that they had raised the terms of the lenders. They said that such was the combination of the enemies of the government, that even the return of peace had not restored it; and that those gentlemen who had leagued themselves with the money-dealers, and amused them with the hopes of forcing the government into their own terms, were accountable for all the disagreeable consequences to the nation. They added, that it was eligible to raise money by taking it from the sinking-fund, where it might be replaced, rather than by farther taxations upon industry and commerce, which groaned under the loads

Com-
plaints of
the mi-
nistry.

An. 1763. that had been laid upon them, through the profuse management of the late war. The last argument was thrown in on account of the incredible demands that were made upon the government by contractors of all kinds, foreign as well as domestic, some of whom were known to have made fortunes, during the course of the war, of several hundred thousand pounds each, and far exceeding what fell to the share even of the great duke of Marlborough, during the same number of campaigns.

Violence
of party
writings.

Though we cannot have so low an opinion of either house of parliament, as not to suppose that the reasons urged for the ministry had their weight within doors, yet it is certain they had but little without, where the spirit which had been so industriously raised by the opposition, threatened the most dreadful consequences. All the most virulent papers against government in former days seemed to be but decent compositions compared to those which were circulated thro' the nation. The usual caution of not printing names at length was now laid aside; every quarter was full of tumult and confusion, and the friends of the government were answered by clamour, which increased in proportion to the weakness of their opposing arguments. The lord-mayor and aldermen of London instructed their representatives, in terms that conveyed no favourable ideas as to the intentions of the government, to oppose the cyder bill, as did many other counties, whose representatives, though otherwise extremely well-affected towards the ministry, either opposed them, or did not support them in this measure.

This

This storm had no manner of effect on the administration, who steadily pursued their point, tho' the city of London presented, by the hand of the sheriffs, at the bar of the house, a petition against it. Another petition, in the same words, was that same day presented by the earl Temple in the house of lords. Both those applications proving ineffectual, the petitioners, even when they knew the bill was passed, carried up a third petition to his majesty in person, imploring him not to give his royal assent to so much of the bill as subjects the makers of cyder and perry to excise laws. This measure was by the cooler and more disinterested part of the public, thought to be indecent as well as unconstitutional; as, in fact, it meant nothing less than beseeching his majesty to prefer the advice and opinion of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, to that of both houses of parliament. The bill met with a strong opposition in the house of peers, where five dukes, one marquis, ten earls, four viscounts, fourteen barons, and nine bishops, opposed it; but this debate gave very little concern to the ministry, who knew that the opposition of several of the noble personages was confined to that single point. The passing of the bill was attended by two protests, each signed by three noblemen, who, besides the arguments we have already mentioned against the cyder act, complained loudly of the immense profits accruing to the subscribers to the loan. This opposition had no great weight with the public; and it was extremely remarkable, that the louder the clamour without doors rose against the minister, the greater was the

An. 1763.
Firmness
of the ad-
ministra-
tion.

A protest
entered.

defer-

An. 1763. deference paid him within doors. His levees were more crouded than those of any minister were ever known to be in England, by the greatest and most respectable subjects in the kingdom; and he carried every question of importance in parliament, by a majority seldom known in the most prosperous administrations.

Sudden
resignation
of lord
Bute.

Had lord B—e been a minister by profession, he no doubt would have got the better of all opposition; but that character in him was only occasional. The wish of his master's heart was to restore peace to his country, a task which his lordship had undertaken and completed. Ministerial greatness was no object for a nobleman of his turn of mind, and circumstances of fortune. He had fulfilled his engagements; he had stood the tempest of unpopularity, and his power was so fixed, that he could not be displaced by faction, when, all of a sudden, he resigned it. This, amongst his friends, was considered as a daring step, and as a challenge to his enemies, by retiring to a private station. The latter triumphed for some time, as if they had driven him from the helm of government; but it soon appeared that he had only voluntarily withdrawn himself; that he had forfeited no engagement; that he had abandoned no friend; and that the connections he had formed were so firm as to subsist of themselves. His resignation was, in fact, a dreadful blow upon the antiministerial party, which had chiefly subsisted by the jealousy of his influence, which they had infused into the public.

New mi-
nistry ap-
pointed.

The professed plan of government appeared now to consist in a detachment from all continental con-

considerations, and a determined resolution of the sovereign to throw down all distinctions of party, and to govern by no faction, be its denomination ever so plausible. Mr. Grenville, a man of the most practicable and useful abilities of any in the nation, and of as great experience in business, was placed at the head of the treasury. Though his expectations were great, and his natural connections powerful, yet he had no dependence, and could scarcely be said to have a friend but what his integrity and affability procured him. The earls of Hallifax and Egremont continued to be the two secretaries of state, and the opposite principles of their ancestors exhibited a specimen of that coalition which his majesty wanted to establish in his government. The death of lord Egremont, in August this year, occasioned a remove in the ministry, and the earl of Sandwich, who had been appointed to go ambassador to Spain, succeeded him as secretary of state, and the earl of Egmont was appointed first lord of the admiralty. Some other removes about the same time took place, to the great surprise of the public; the earl of Hillsborough being appointed first lord of trade and plantations, in the room of the earl of Shelburn, and the duke of Bedford succeeding to the vacant post of president of the council.

His majesty, though firmly resolved as to his own conduct, at this time gave way to some overtures for a coalition of interests. The proposal was at first readily embraced, and Mr. P——t appeared at court with great alacrity. Mr. G——le offered, for the tranquility of his majesty's government, to resign

Proposals
for a coa-
lition of
interests.

An, 1763. resign his place of first commissioner of the treasury, and to accept of any post that was not utterly inconsistent with his rank in life. The accommodation appeared the more practicable, as the heads of the opposition were so far from being averse to a coalition with lord B—e, that they courted it. Perhaps the new secretaries too much affected an independency, which piqued the pride of their antagonists. It is certain that, at the second audience, the former minister had insisted upon terms which his majesty thought by no means compatible either with his justice or humanity, and with which he could not comply, without doing violence both to his inclinations and honour. The negotiation, consequently, had no effect. But his majesty's firmness and resolution made up for all inconveniences, and the administration soon returned to its natural channel.

Affairs of
the conti-
nent.

Forces
paid by
Great
Britain
the pre-
ceding
year.

The British ministry, at this time, had reason to congratulate themselves upon the wisdom and rectitude of their continental measures; for no sooner did they withdraw their subsidies and troops from Germany than that empire recovered its tranquillity. By an abstract of the sea and land forces paid by Great Britain, during the last year of the war, they appeared to be 337,106. This was an expence that no government could long support, as it amounted to eighteen millions a year, or 50 l. a man, upon an average. The scarcity of hands in agriculture and manufactures was incredible; women through many parts of England were employed in the most robust labours, and it appeared that the number of marines and seamen who had died

died during the course of the war were no fewer than 135,220. The wages of labourers now rose to be so excessive, that they could not be defrayed by the profits upon inland trade; and the common people grew insolent beyond expression. Upon the death of lord Pulteney, member of parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster, lord Warkworth, eldest son to the earl of Northumberland, was chosen in his room. The rejoicings made on the occasion terminated in a fray between a body of riotous sailors, (who, under pretence of being wronged of their pay, had associated together,) and the chairmen of Westminster, in which some blood was shed; and it might have been attended with still more disagreeable consequences, had not the rioters been dispersed by the guards. This, however, did not prevent the same sailors from patrolling, in a tumultuous manner, through Westminster, and they carried their petitions to his majesty; but they were referred to the lords of the admiralty, who promised to do them justice, and to recommend to favour all who should appear to deserve it. This lenity was far from quelling the outrage among the sailors, who now threatened the magistrates in the execution of their office. Upon enquiry it was found, that they were spirited up by a number of lewd women, who were harboured about Tower-Hill, Wapping, and that neighbourhood, and who were protected by the sailors against the constables, who were sent by the justices of the peace of that division to apprehend them. The civil power thus proving ineffectual, the military was called in, and a guard was sent from the Tower.

Disorders
amongst
the lower
ranks.

The

An. 1763. The sailors encreased to such numbers, that the guard was twice reinforced, and the consequences must have been dreadful, had not a sea-officer, for whom the sailors had a regard, appeared, and called them off just as the soldiers were about to fire. The magistrates then ventured to order some of their loose women to be committed to Bridewell; but they were rescued from the guard, not without bloodshed.

The like spirit of disorder affected other parts of the kingdom, nor was even confinement itself any preservative against intemperance and riot. The East-India company had been obliged to give vast wages to their recruits, whom they confined in the Savoy: here they rose upon their guard, who were forced to kill three of them, and wound many others, before they could be quelled. Never were murders of the most cruel kind more frequent, nor robberies more audacious, than those with which the public were now every day alarmed. Libertinism at the same time seemed to take possession of the theatres, which were filled with tumult and confusion; but a spirit of benevolence extended itself to the foundations for learning in Philadelphia and New-York, and very large collections were made all over England for their benefit. This season produced one remarkable offender, whose crime became a national affair, and therefore requires to be particularly mentioned here.

Learning
encou-
raged in
America.

Cafe,

One Rice, an exchange-broker, of a fair character in trade, and supposed to be of a considerable fortune, had been entrusted by a lady to receive her

her dividends of South-sea stock, and to send it to her in the country. During the negotiations for peace, the various turns they met with encouraged a spirit of gaming in Exchange-alley, especially among the brokers, some of whom, and Rice among the rest, suffered largely by the fluctuation of the stocks. Dreading the loss of credit, he forged a letter of attorney from this lady, empowering him to sell her stock, to the amount of 5000 l. and it is said he practised the same fraud upon others of his employers, without their suspecting the matter, as he regularly transmitted them their dividends, and sometimes even replaced the stock. His losses multiplying, he was unable to remain longer without detection, especially as he understood that the lady whom he had defrauded was coming up to town, and would infallibly discover the forgery. The remains of his fortune, besides his furniture and equipages, which were very elegant, amounted to five thousand four hundred pounds, five thousand of which he deposited with his wife, in bank-bills, and privately withdrew, with the remainder, to Harwich, from whence he procured a passage to Holland, leaving orders with his wife, who rather suspected, than knew, his circumstances, to follow him. She accordingly took shipping for Holland, but being forced back to Harwich, she fell into the hands of those who were in pursuit of her husband. Being brought up to London, and examined before the lord-mayor, she readily gave up the bank-notes that were in her hands, to the amount of four thousand seven hundred pounds. Her answers to the questions asked of her were so candid,

An. 1763. candid, that the directors of the South-Sea company, who thought proper to replace the stock to the lady, allowed her a pension.

The crime committed by Rice was of the most dangerous tendency, especially in a commercial country, and indeed became a common concern to all the traders in Europe, who had any connections of credit. The English government thought the offence of such a nature, that no local protection was due to the offender, and the place of his retreat was soon discovered by a letter which he wrote to his agent, who immediately carried it to the lord-mayor. By this it appeared that he had taken refuge in Cambray. The juncture was favourable for bringing him to punishment, as the duke of Bedford was then negotiating the peace at Paris, and the French court was willing to oblige that of Great Britain. His grace, by his majesty's order, applied to have Rice apprehended at Cambray, which was accordingly done, and he was sent over to England, where he was tried at the Old-Bailey for forgery, convicted, and executed; but it appeared he had no accomplices. The compliance shewn by the French court on this occasion was the more remarkable, as several of their subjects, obnoxious to them, were at that very time said to be sheltered and protected in England.

Trial, and
execution
of Rice
the broker.

State of
the East-
India
company's af-
fairs.

The affairs of the East-India company began now more than ever to engross the attention of the public, and two parties were formed, said to be of very different interests. Lord Clive headed the one; and Mr. Sullivan, a director of great abilities and eminence, the other. Mr. Rous was the chair-
man,

man, whose interest lord Clive espoused: he was accused by the other party of a dangerous inattention to the interests of the company during the late negotiations for peace. At a meeting held the middle of March, a motion was made for giving Mr. Rous thanks for his prudent management and attention to the interests of the company, in the late negotiations for a peace with France; and, after a long and warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative *. As this court consisted of above six hundred and fifty members, the fullest ever known, it was considered as a prelude to affairs of more importance; but it appeared, during the course of the following month, that the interest of the noble candidate for a seat in the direction was inferior to that of his antagonist. An unexpected revolution in the company's affairs abroad, which shall be taken notice of in its proper place, soon turned the scale.

Among the other affairs of importance which this year came before the parliament, was the regulation of private mad-houses, nuisances that had

Shocking
abuse of
mad-
houses.

* When the late negotiation was set on foot, our East-India company was applied to by his majesty's servants, to know on what footing they would chuse to have the affairs in the East-Indies settled: they drew the tenth article in the preliminaries; it was signed by their chairman, sent to his majesty's minister, and by him transmitted to the noble duke then at Paris: which article was transcribed into the preliminaries, verbatim, as it came from the East-India company, and the preliminaries were deferred signing forty-eight hours, as an honourable member of the house of commons declared, waiting for that article.

An. 1763. risen to an incredible height in England, but especially in London and its neighbourhood. A committee was appointed to enquire into the state of this growing evil; and it appeared that many of the private mad-houses were no other than places of correction and imprisonment for persons whose relations found it for their interest that they should be sequestered from the public. One of those private bridewells was situated at Chelsea. It received all who were brought to it; and though it was not pretended that they were lunatics, yet they were treated as such. Wives were shut up at the request of their husbands, and drunkenness was a sufficient cause for one person to imprison another, to debar him from all access to pen, ink, and paper, and to keep him from the knowledge of his nearest relations, if they should call for him at the place of confinement. It was farther proved, that any person might be thus confined, upon application to the master of the house, and engaging for the regular payment of a stipulated sum. Those, and other circumstances, equally detestable, were fully made out before the committee, who heard them with the deepest concern and indignation. But, though it was generally expected that measures would have been taken, not only for preventing the like abuses for the future, but that the delinquents would have been brought to condign punishment for what had passed: yet, to the inexpressible surprise of the public, the whole was dropped, and a scene which was thought to be of greater importance was now opened.

The





JOHN WILKES Esq^r.

The steadiness of his majesty in supporting the alterations he had made in his ministry, disconcerted the old ministers and their friends to a degree of inquietude scarcely to be conceived, especially after they saw that their successors displaced their subordinate creatures from many offices and departments of government. As they could complain of no unconstitutional measure that had been pursued, and as the votes of parliament fully vindicated the conduct of the ministry, they had recourse to the most desperate expedients for inflaming the lower ranks of people. Though the new ministry might have easily crushed the authors of the papers and pamphlets published against them in the ordinary course of law-proceedings, (as their names were printed at full length in many audacious libels,) yet they persevered in the most amazing contempt and disregard of all the abuse offered to their own persons, especially in a periodical publication of a paper called the North Briton, which was insolent and atrocious beyond the example of all former oppositions, in the most distempered periods of government.

An. 1763.
The rage
of writing
continues.

One Mr. Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, was at very little pains to conceal that he was the author of this paper, which, in point of wit, language, or argument, could never have attracted the attention of the public, had not the minds of the people, by the arts of faction, been inflamed to a degree of madness. Wilkes was lively but superficial, and in his morals he was said to be dissipated even to profligacy. He had more than once applied to the new ministers

Imprison-
ment of
Mr.
Wilkes,

An. 1763. for a post that might repair his shattered fortunes; but prepossessions arising from his character were so strong against him, that failing of success, he resolved, as he openly declared, to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiousness of writing, under pretext of exercising the liberty of the press. Perceiving the next to stoical indifference of the ministry with regard to their own persons, he aimed his abuse at majesty itself, and, in the forty-fifth number of his paper, animadverted upon the king's speech in parliament, with an acrimony so indecent towards his majesty's probity as well as person, that the ministers could no longer avoid giving orders for seizing the printer, and all concerned in the publication. Those orders were contained in a warrant of a general nature, under the hand of lord Halifax, directed to four of his majesty's messengers, commanding them to apprehend, without specifying their names, the authors, printers, and publishers of that seditious and treasonable paper; and the publisher * being accordingly apprehended, his examination afforded sufficient ground for fixing upon Mr. Wilkes as the author.

This warrant, though afterwards pronounced to be illegal by a lord chief justice, was, in point of form and substance, the same that had always been issued by former secretaries of state, and even by Mr. Pitt and the d—e of N—e, whose party now openly contended that it was subversive

* George Kearsley, in Ludgate-street.

of the British constitution. On the 29th of April, late at night, the messengers entered the house of Mr. Wilkes, and produced their warrant, which he refused to comply with, on account of its general terms; but next morning they returned, and carried him in a coach before one of the secretaries of state, partly, as he alledged, by force. In the mean time a motion was made in the court of Common Pleas, for an habeas corpus; which was granted. The seizure and sealing up of papers, when any person was taken into custody for a libel, though not treasonable, had always been customary, and the practice had been strenuously defended, especially under whig ministers. The same proceeding was observed on this occasion, but with an indulgence to Mr. Wilkes which had not been shewn to former prisoners in his situation; for the under-secretary of state, and the solicitor of the treasury, attended, and invited the friends of Mr. Wilkes to be present at sealing up his papers, an operation which had in past times been always performed by the messenger, (were he ever so rude or illiterate,) who took the delinquent into custody. Mr. Wilkes, after his examination, of course was committed to close prison (the Tower of London) by the two secretaries of state. Earl T——le went to pay him a visit, but was denied admittance by major Rainsford, the officer of the Tower, who had him in custody. His counsel and solicitor soon after made the same application, but met with the like refusal, the major alledging, that he had received orders from the secretary of state, not to admit any person whatever to see or speak with the

An. 1763. prisoner. Next day the major repeated his refusal of admittance to several noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, but readily gave to the council and solicitor for Mr. Wilkes a copy of his commitment. The solicitor of the treasury, who is generally the manager of government-prosecutions, interceded with the major for leave of admittance to Mr. Wilkes's lawyers; but the major continued inflexible in his refusal. By this time, the court of Common Pleas had ordered a return to their writ of habeas corpus, which having been served upon the messengers only, their return was that Mr. Wilkes was not then in their custody. The court not judging that return to be sufficient, would not suffer it to be filed, and another writ of habeas corpus was granted, directed to the constable of the Tower of London and his officers; and in consequence of this, Mr. Wilkes was brought up next day (May the 3d) to Westminster-hall. Upon his entering the court he made a formal speech, replete with virulent expressions against the ministry, affected compliments to the person of his majesty, and laboured encomiums upon himself, as the dauntless champion and persecuted sufferer in the cause of public liberty. Pleadings followed on both sides; and Mr. Wilkes was remanded to the Tower, till Friday the 6th of May, that the judges might have leisure to form their opinion; but in the intermediate time his friends and lawyers were to have free admittance to his person.

Who is released on account of privilege.

Being accordingly, on that day, brought back to court, he made another speech, still more laboured than the former, but of the same inflammatory

matory tendency. Lord chief justice Pratt then An. 1763. proceeded to give the opinion of the court. He stated the case in hand under three heads. First, the legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment. Secondly, the necessity for a specification of those particular passages in the 45th numb. of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel. And, thirdly, Mr. Wilkes's privilege as a member of parliament. Under the first head, his lordship thought that the commitment of Mr. Wilkes was not illegal, because, though the warrant of a secretary of state in such a case was not of superior force to that of a justice of peace, and though no magistrate had, in reality, a right, *ex officio*, to apprehend any person, without stating the particular crime of which he was accused; yet at the same time he observed "there were many precedents where a nice combination of circumstances gave so strong a suspicion of facts, that though the magistrate could not be justified *ex officio*, he was, nevertheless, supported in the commitment, even without receiving any particular information for the foundation of the charge."

As to the second division, he was of opinion that there was no necessity for the specification mentioned; and thought that if the whole of the obnoxious paper had been inserted in the body of the warrant, yet it did not at that time come under his cognizance; nor could it, without the assistance of a jury.

Upon the third head, he remarked, "that there were but three cases which could possibly affect the privilege of a member of parliament, and these were

Opinion of
the lord
chief jus-
tice on
that head.

An. 1763. *treason, felony, and the peace,*" or which is the same thing, the breach of it. He observed that the commitment of the bishops for endeavouring to disturb the peace happened in an arbitrary reign, when there was but one honest judge in the court of King's Bench. He concluded, that " Mr. Wilkes stood accused of writing a libel; a libel in the sense of the law was a *high misdemeanor*, but did not come within the description of *treason, felony, or breach of the peace*; at most, it had but a tendency to *disturb the peace*, and consequently could not be sufficient to destroy the privilege of a member of parliament."

The court then discharged Mr. Wilkes, who returned the judges his thanks in the name of the public, and of the whole English nation, and every subject of the English crown, for his liberty; though it is very evident that he obtained it only under the circumstance of his being a member of parliament. As it is the chief duty of history to record facts as they arise, it is sufficient here to observe that many other eminent lawyers, and indeed a majority of the house of commons, were of opinion that no privilege was due in such cases: and it was observed that the only triumph which the minority could boast of on this occasion, was a temporary deliverance of Mr. Wilkes on the above account; but that he was still subject to a prosecution by the attorney general, which his majesty had ordered.

During the course of this affair several incidents happened that were the subjects of the public's amusement, rather than its attention. The day

day after Mr. Wilkes was delivered from the Tower he wrote a letter to the two secretaries of state, complaining, that, during his confinement, his house had been robbed; and that being informed his goods were in the custody of their lordships, he insisted upon restitution. Next day he repaired to a justice of peace, and demanded a warrant to search the houses of the two secretaries; which the magistrate refused to grant. Though nothing could be more impotent and extravagant than those proceedings; yet the secretaries, to the surprize of the friends of the government, thought proper to return, under their own hands, a serious answer to his charge; which afforded him a commodious handle to send their lordships a reply stuffed with insults and scurrility, but such as added to his character among the vulgar. His majesty, at the same time ordered the earl of Egremont to signify to earl Temple, who was lord lieutenant of the county of Buckingham, his pleasure, that Mr. Wilkes should be dismissed from being colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia; and this command was intimated to Mr. Wilkes with apparent reluctance by his lordship, who was himself soon after removed from the lieutenancy of the same county, to make way for lord Despencer, late sir Francis Dashwood. The letters that passed on Mr. Wilkes's being removed were likewise published, and industriously circulated, to swell the popular clamour.

While Mr. Wilkes affected to be thought the champion of a party, he was no other than the tool of a faction. The men of sense in the opposition despised, shunned, and hated him; nor could all

the

An. 1763.

Letters
between
Mr.
Wilkes
and the
secretaries
of
state.

Mr.
Wilkes
removed
from be-
ing colo-
nel of the
militia.

An infor-
mation
filed a-
gainst
him.

An. 1763. the efforts made use of by him and his friends produce any general measure for supporting either his cause or himself, though they well knew the state of his private finances. To give himself some colour of importance he publicly advertised the printing all the proceedings against him at a private press he set up in his own house; and the exorbitant price at which they were to be sold, was a sufficient evidence that he intended this publication should indemnify him for his sufferings and expence, and support him against the prosecution he was threatened with. But even this expedient, plausible and practicable as it appeared to be, had very little effect in his favour. The ministry were so far from being intimidated, that an information was filed against him in the court of King's Bench, for being the author of the *North Briton*, N^o 45.

His veracity questioned.

In the mean time, the personal veracity of Mr. Wilkes received a severe shock by his being called upon in the public papers to make good an assertion he had advanced in his speech at the court of Common Pleas that corrupt offers had been made to him by the government; and to declare when, how, or by whom such offers were made, and what they were. Neither Mr. Wilkes nor any of his friends thought proper to take any notice of this peremptory challenge, though often repeated, and affecting his moral character in the most sensible part.

The heads of the opposition at this time flattered themselves that no part of the magistracy of London would address his Majesty upon the peace; but

but on the 12th of May, while the public was in the highest suspense concerning the fate of Mr. Wilkes, the address of the lord-mayor and aldermen was carried up. It was worded with remarkable decency, as they grounded their approbation of the peace upon that which it had already received from parliament, and they shewed a becoming abhorrence of the spirit of faction then arising. Great pains were taken by the lower part of the citizens to ridicule and vilify this measure; but it served to disabuse the public, especially as to the opinion which had been propagated concerning the aversion of the city of London towards the late treaty.

An. 1763.

Address
of the
lord may-
or and al-
dermen of
London.

Upon the meeting of the parliament on the 15th of November, his majesty's speech from the throne exhorted the members to cultivate the arts of peace in such a manner as might most effectually contribute to extend the commerce and augment the happiness of his kingdoms. He requested the commons to employ their utmost attention, and the strictest frugality, as to the heavy debts contracted in the late war, for many of which no provision had been made. He recommended to them the care and support of the fleet, and informed them that he had directed the money arising from the sale of the prizes vested in the crown to be applied to the public service; and that he intended to reserve for the same use, whatever sums should be produced by the sale of any of the lands belonging to himself in the islands of the West-Indies that were ceded by the late treaty. To-
wards

King's
speech.

An. 1763. wards the close he exhorted them to domestic union; and that they would discourage that licentious spirit which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty, and of this happy constitution. The peers, in their address of answer to his majesty's speech, expressed themselves in the most dutiful and grateful manner for his majesty's attachment to the true interest of his kingdoms, and manifested the deepest abhorrence of that licentious spirit which had of late discovered itself in defiance of the laws, to the subversion of good order, and to the disgrace of liberty, whose sacred name it had so insolently assumed. "And we beg leave (concluded their lordships) to assure your majesty, that by our zeal and application in bringing all offenders of that sort to justice, as well as by our proceedings in general, we will endeavour to give such an example, as may induce your majesty's subjects to unite in discouraging a licentiousness, which is so repugnant to the true principles of this happy constitution; and in promoting such measures as may equally conduce to the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, and to their own happiness and security."

Addresses
of parlia-
ment.

The commons were equally dutiful in their address of thanks, which turned upon the same topics as that of the peers. It was expected, and indeed declared by all the friends of the opposition, that those addresses, especially those relating to the licentious spirit of the nation, would have brought on a strong debate; but the addresses passed without any division. This was owing to the

the remains of a misunderstanding between the party headed by the d. of N. and that which considered Mr. P. as its leader; each recriminating on the other for their pusillanimity and indecision. The truth, perhaps, was, that the heads of both thought that there was still an opening for them to make their terms, and which they were unwilling to shut up, by espousing a cause which neither of them in private approved of.

Before the king's speech was reported to the house of commons, the chancellor of the Exchequer, by his majesty's command, acquainted the house "that his majesty having received information, that John Wilkes, esq; a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, published since the (then) last session of parliament, he had caused the said John Wilkes, esq; to be apprehended, and secured, in order to his being tried for the same, by due course of law; and Mr. Wilkes having been discharged out of custody by the court of Common Pleas, upon account of his privilege as a member of that house; and having, when called upon by the legal process of the court of king's bench, stood out, and declined to appear and answer to an information, which had since been exhibited against him by his majesty's attorney-general for the same offence; in this situation his majesty being desirous to shew all possible attention to the privileges of the house of commons, in every instance wherein they can be supposed to be concerned; and at the same time thinking it of the utmost importance, not to suffer

An.1763.

Com-
plaint in
the house
of com-
mons a-
gainst
Mr.
Wilkes.

the

An. 1763. the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examinations, upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and secured, to be laid before that house for their consideration: and then Mr. chancellor of the Exchequer delivered the said papers in at the table."

Their
proceed-
ings.

The house upon this unanimously resolved to present an address of thanks to his majesty, and to assure him that they would forthwith take the very important matter of his message into their consideration. In their proceedings on this affair the members perceived that the government had been well founded in their prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, by the examination of Kearsley the publisher, and one Balf a printer. The question, even after this, admitted of great debates; and it was strongly urged by the gentlemen in the opposition, that no greater liberties had been taken by the author of the obnoxious paper, with regard to his majesty's speech than what had been common upon former occasions of the same kind; and that the speech of the king had never been considered in any other light than that of the minister, and had always been treated with equal freedom. The house, however, was of opinion that under no former opposition such abusive terms, or so personally disrespectful to majesty, had ever been made use of; and therefore it was resolved by a great majority, "That the paper, intituled *The North Briton*, No 45, is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence, and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both

both houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of the realm; and to excite them to traiterous insurrections." An. 1763.

In consequence of this resolution, an order was made, that the said paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; but the further consideration of it was put off from one o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 16th to one of the clock the same day. No legal conviction yet lying against Mr. Wilkes of his being the author of the paper, he complained to the house the same day, of breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, the plundering of his house, the seizure of his papers, and the serving him with a subpoena upon an information in the court of King's Bench. As this complaint certainly was regular, the house resolved to take it into consideration on Tuesday the 17th.

Besides the single paper complained of, a collection of all the other numbers of the North Briton had been reprinted, by order of Mr. Wilkes, in the most unguarded manner. Among other names inserted at full length, in this collection, was that of Samuel Martin, esq; member of parliament for Camelford, and late first secretary of the treasury, attended with a most infamous character of his person and morals. It being no longer doubted that Mr. Wilkes was principally concerned in this publication, Mr. Martin, thought it

Nº 45 of
the North
Briton or-
dered to
be burnt.

Duel be-
tween
Mr. Mar-
tin and
Mr.
Wilkes.

in-

An. 1763. incumbent on him to demand satisfaction for the wanton injury that had been offered him. A duel with pistols in Hyde-Park ensued, in which both parties behaved like men of courage; but Mr. Wilkes was wounded in the body so dangerously, that he was in no condition to appear in the house of commons, when the matter of his complaint was to be heard. On the 16th, however, the farther consideration of his majesty's message was put off till the 18th; and, through the speaker's illness, the house did not proceed upon it till the 23d, when a motion was made, "That privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." As this resolution was far from being agreeable to the opinion given by the lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, a great debate arose; which being adjourned, in compliance to the speaker, was not determined till the 24th, when it was carried by a majority of 125. A number of members on this occasion spoke and voted against the resolution, only because they thought it was a matter founded in the constitution, independent of all party-consideration. With regard to the debate concerning the complaint of Mr. Wilkes for breach of privilege, it was put off on account of his wound.

Resolutions with regard to privilege.

After the commons had agreed to the above important resolutions, it was ordered, that lord Strange should go up to the house of lords to desire a conference for obtaining the concurrence of their lord-

lordships; which was accordingly granted, and their lordships agreed to the resolutions. It was then resolved by the commons, " That the printed paper, intituled, the North Briton, N^o 45. which was communicated to the lords at the last conference, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange in London, upon Saturday next, at one of the clock; and that the sheriffs of London do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly." The commons obtained this concurrence of the lords to the resolution likewise, as they did to another, which was unanimously agreed upon, to express their surprise and indignation at the scandalous and seditious libel which they had censured. This address was drawn up in terms of such warm affection for his majesty's person and government, that it was evident the two houses meant it as a mark of their signal detestation of such libellous writings, and as a proof to all Europe that their sentiments and those of the ministry were the same, whatever pains might be taken to impress foreigners with an opposite opinion. His majesty, by his answer, seemed to take a peculiar satisfaction in this address, which wonderfully disconcerted the opposition, and left no farther handle for pretending, as was most industriously given out, that matters in parliament were ready to take a turn to the disadvantage of the government.

Hitherto the charge of being the author of the obnoxious paper had not, by any regular motion, been urged personally against Mr. Wilkes; but, on the 1st of December, when the members resum-

An. 1763.
Both
houses
join in an
address to
the king.

An. 1763. ed the farther consideration of his majesty's message of the 15th of Nov. the house was informed that evidence was ready to be produced of Mr. Wilkes' being the author; and his wound still disabling him from his attendance, it was ordered that he should answer the charge, ready to be produced against him, on that day seven-night, when his own complaint of breach of privilege was to be heard likewise. While this matter was depending, the sheriffs of London, who were the honourable Mr. Harley, and Richard Blunt, esq; endeavoured to execute the order of the two houses, by burning the 45th number of the North Briton at the Royal Exchange; but the mob proved so riotous on this occasion, that they rescued the paper from the executioner before it was consumed, pelted the constables, and other peace-officers, and even put Mr. sheriff Harley in danger of his life. This riot being reported in the two houses of parliament, they entered very seriously in consideration of its consequences; and resolved, after the lords had examined Mr. alderman Harley, "that the rioters were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of this country, and obstruc-tors of the national justice." The two sheriffs at the same time had the thanks of the house for their spirited behaviour on that occasion; and the two houses joined unanimously in an address to his majesty, that he would give directions for the discovery of the rioters.

Mr. Wilkes proved to be the author of the North Briton.

Riot upon burning the same.

The walls of parliament as yet contained the debates on this affair, which was of far greater importance than the public at first apprehended.

The

The resolutions of neither house could determine the great points depending on it, for those were cognizable only in a court of law. In the July preceding, the journeymen printers who had been seized and confined on suspicion of printing the North Briton brought actions against the messengers on that account. On the first action that was tried the plaintiff recovered 300*l.* damages, and 200*l.* was allowed to each of the others, who were thirteen in number. It appeared from those trials that the plaintiffs were not really guilty of the fact for which they had been seized; that the messengers had been misled by the general terms of the warrants; and that room was left for contesting their validity. At the same time, the cooler and more judicious part of the public thought the damages, considering the state and circumstances of the parties, were exorbitant; and that the verdicts in their favour would only serve to exasperate the ministers, when it should be their turns to prosecute. Mr. Wilkes, who no doubt was highly encouraged by the verdicts the printers had obtained, brought his action likewise against the late secretary of state for seizing his papers; and on the 6th of December, after a hearing of near fifteen hours before lord chief justice Pratt, and a special jury in the court of Common Pleas, he obtained a verdict with 1000*l.* damages, and costs of suit. In the charge given on this occasion by the judge to the jury, his lordship pronounced the warrant under which Mr. Wilkes was seized, illegal; but very modestly submitted his own opinion to the other judges and the house of peers,

An. 1763.

Verdicts
obtained
by the
printers.

An. 1763. ending his speech with the following remarkable words: "If these higher jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great-Britain."

Remarkable
speech of
the chief
justice.

Attempt
upon Mr.
Wilkes by
a mad-
man.

So solemn a decision was considered by the gentlemen in the opposition as a matter of triumph, which they endeavoured to improve by a most ridiculous incident which happened on the night the verdict was obtained. One Dunn, a Scotchman, and a lunatic, having been overheard to make use of some threatening expressions against Mr. Wilkes, the latter was apprized of them, and Dunn next morning making an effort to get admission into the house of Mr. Wilkes, whose wound still confined him to his room, he was seized upon, and disarmed of a penknife, which the party reported was to be the instrument for assassinating Mr. Wilkes. The lunatic, Dunn, was committed to the custody of a tipstaff, and Mr. Wilkes's friends took the matter up so seriously, that a complaint was made to the house of commons, who ordered the tipstaff to bring Dunn to their bar, and the evidences against him to attend at the same time. Before this could be done, the house was satisfied, by indisputable evidence, that Dunn was a madman; and he was remitted to the course of common law, which confined him for some time to prison for want of bail. Though nothing could be more plain than the insanity of this wretch, yet the party still continued to affirm that he was an assassin, because he was a Scotchman, and even insinu-

insinuated in print that he had been employed to murder Mr. Wilkes. An. 1763.

On the 16th of December the house of commons, being tired out by the repeated delays of Mr. Wilkes's appearance on account of his wound, and suspecting that there might be some collusion between him and such of the medical faculty as attended him, made an order that Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins, the former a physician, and the latter a surgeon, should observe the progress of his cure, and report their opinion to the house. Mr. Wilkes declined to admit them, though at the request of Mr. Martin he had suffered them to attend him before; but sent for Dr. Duncan, a physician, and Mr. Middleton, a surgeon, who were Scotchmen; and they attended him accordingly. The commons adjourning during the Christmas holidays, Mr. Wilkes made use of that opportunity to go over to France; but his friends gave out that he certainly would attend the house on the 16th of January, which was the last day fixed for his appearance. On the meeting of the house the speaker produced a letter he had received from Mr. Wilkes dated from Paris, and inclosing a certificate of one of the French king's physicians, and another from a surgeon of the French army concerning the state of his health, but both of them without any notorial attestation. Those papers being read, all the gentlemen of the faculty, who had attended Mr. Wilkes, were again examined; and then the house, by a great majority, voted, that by withdrawing himself to a foreign country, without assigning a sufficient cause, he had

Proceedings of the house of commons with regard to his wound.

An. 1763. been guilty of a contempt of the authority of the house; and that they would proceed to hear the evidence upon the matter of the charge against him.

Resolutions against him.

In the course of this examination repeated efforts were made for interrupting it, and it was two in the morning of the 20th of January before the house voted, "that John Wilkes, esq; was guilty of writing and publishing the paper, intitled, *The North Briton*, N^o. 45, which this house has voted to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature, and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against his majesty's government." After this resolution had passed, though it was then half an hour after three in the morning, the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the house was voted by a considerable majority, and a new writ was ordered for electing another member for Ailesbury, in his room.

He is expelled.

Hitherto the demerits of Mr. Wilkes, whatever private irregularities in life he might have been accused of, were considered by the public only politically, and he had many advocates among the virtuous, well-disposed part of mankind; when, all of a sudden, a storm broke out upon him in the house of peers, which exhibited him in a most unchristian

christian and immoral light. On the 19th of January one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state accused Mr. Wilkes, in the house of lords, of violating the most sacred ties of religion as well as decency, by printing in his own house a book or pamphlet, intitled, "an Essay on Woman, with notes or remarks." This complaint could not have properly come before their lordships, had not the name of a right reverend prelate been most scurrilously introduced, as being the author of the notes. The book itself, though printed with the utmost secrecy, had been communicated, through Mr. Wilkes's own inadvertency, to the secretary by a journeyman printer, who was possessed of a copy, and the very mention of its contents struck the public with horror. The concern which the pretended patriot had in printing and correcting the press was proved beyond all contradiction, and left on the minds of the public a strong conviction of his being the author also. Scarcely any defence was made for him by his friends, and the house addressed his majesty to give orders that he should be prosecuted; but neither this address, nor the prosecutions intended to be brought against him for breach of privilege, had any other effect than that of greatly encreasing the number of his enemies in the rational unprepossessed part of the nation *.

An. 1763.

Account
of the Es-
say on
Woman.

The

* While Mr. Wilkes resided at Paris, an adventure happened to him, which made a far greater noise in the world than its importance de-

serves. One Forbes, a young Scotch officer, of a reformed regiment in the French service, gave Mr. Wilkes a challenge to fight him, though

An. 1763.

Debates
in the
house of
commons
concern-
ing gene-
ral war-
rants,

The minority in the lower house now proceeded upon a question which was of general concern to the nation, and the liberty not only of the press, but of the subject. On the 14th of February a motion was made by Sir W. M. in the house of commons, "That a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." As several cases were then depending before the courts of law, in which juries, and judges likewise, might be influ-

he never had seen him before, because he understood him to be the author of the North Briton. The challenge was given on the streets of Paris, and Mr. Wilkes very properly evaded making a noise there, but told Mr. Forbes the place where he lived. Though Mr. Wilkes, without the smallest imputation to his honour, might have called upon the interposition of the civil power in a dispute with an unknown antagonist, who behaved with so little knowledge of the world, yet he gave him a meeting in his own house, and informed him that he could not afford him the satisfaction he desired, because he had resolved first to fight lord Egremont. Forbes upon this behaved with great rudeness, and an order was issued from the board of the marshals of

France, for putting them both under arrest, about the time that Mr. Wilkes, by the death of lord Egremont, found himself disengaged from the performance of his resolution. Forbes escaped to England; Mr. Wilkes appeared before marshal Noailles, and upon his parole was discharged from his arrest; but he informed Forbes's friends, that he was to be, by a particular day, at Menin in the Austrian Flanders; and this not in time reaching Forbes (who had been ordered to leave England for having carried arms in the French service), the matter was dropt after many recriminations on both sides. Upon the whole, however, it appeared that the behaviour of Forbes was generally disapproved of by the Scotch nation.

enced by this resolution, should it have passed, the friends of the administration objected to it. They insisted that it was a point not proper for the cognisance of the house at that time, as uninterrupted usage had given it a sanction, and as it did not appear to have been abused in the instance referred to. They thought that the confining the resolution to the case of general warrants against a seditious libel only, was a kind of a tacit approbation of their being employed in all other cases; and that therefore the resolution, as it then stood, would rather strengthen than prevent the evil complained of. They farther urged, that should a court of law conform themselves to the proposed resolution (which, though it should pass, would not be law) and if the lords, in their judicial capacities, when appealed to, should decree for the legality of the general warrants, the consequences both with regard to the courts of law, and the dignity of the house of commons, must be very disagreeable.

During the debate, the friends of the ministry were far from vindicating the practice of general warrants, but they thought that the abuse of them could not be effectually prevented by a resolution of one house upon a single case; and that the remedy should be provided by an act of parliament, after most solemn debate and deliberation, distinguishing cases, and specifying those discretionary powers, which the contingent exigencies of government require to be vested in a secretary of state. Sir John Philips, who was one of the majority, expressed himself with great warmth against the abuse of general warrants, and, with the approbation

An.1763. tion of the first commissioner of the treasury, undertook to bring in a bill for those purposes that very session. Such a bill was actually brought in, but it was treated by the gentlemen in the minority with a mixture of ridicule and contempt, on pretence that Sir John was not in earnest, and that they had no power to regulate an abuse. It was replied, that the bill was meant to regulate the practice; but they appeared determined to oppose the bill, and it was accordingly withdrawn, the debate being adjourned to the 17th of February.

When the house met again, it appeared beyond all contradiction, that the motion, should it pass, was ineffectual for redressing the evil; and, after long debates, it was drawn up in the following manner: "That a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious and TREASONABLE libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law; although such warrant hath been issued according to the usage of office, and hath been frequently produced to, and, so far as appears to this house, the validity thereof hath never been debated in the court of King's bench, but the parties thereupon have been frequently bailed by the said court." This state of the question, as it was amended, (if not by the heads of the minority, yet with their concurrence and consent), subjected it to new and insurmountable difficulties, because upon debate it was found, that it implied no less than a charge of perjury upon the court of King's bench, for admitting to bail persons committed upon such illegal warrants, instead of giving them

them a free discharge. It was likewise thought pretty extraordinary that the word TREASONABLE, contained in the earl of Halifax's general warrant for apprehending the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton No. 45. was omitted in the original motion *. After a very long and warm debate, it was carried, that the farther consideration of the question should be adjourned for four months; which is carried by the ministry.

* That the reader may have a more clear idea of this debate, we shall here transcribe the words of the general warrant.

George Montagu Dunk, earl of Halifax, viscount Sunbury, and baron Halifax, one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, and principal secretary of state.

These are, in his majesty's name, to authorize and require you (taking a constable to your assistance) to make strict and diligent search for the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious and treasonable paper, entitled, The North Briton, No. XLV. Saturday April 23, 1763. Printed for G. Kearfly, in Ludgate Street, London, and them, or any of them, having

found, to apprehend and seize, together with their papers, and to bring them in safe custody before me, to be examined according to the premises, and dealt with according to law: and in the due execution thereof, all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, constables, and all other his majesty's officers civil and military, and loving subjects, whom it may concern, are to be aiding and assisting to you, as there shall be occasion, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the twenty-sixth day of April, in the third year of his majesty's reign.

Signed,

Dunk Halifax:

Directed, To Nathan Carrington, John Money, James Watson, and Robert Blackmore,

Four of his majesty's messengers in ordinary.

but

An. 1763. but on this occasion the minority was no fewer than two hundred and twenty.

During the discussion of this important trial of skill, as it may be called, between the two parties, the gentlemen of the opposition flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining the most decisive advantages, and, indeed, the plausibility of their arguments brought over to their side some who were the most determined friends to the government in all other cases. Having thus, for the sake of perspicuity, preserved the narrative of the case of Mr. Wilkes, and the great questions to which it led, from being interrupted by any other matter, we shall resume the thread of our history.

See vol.
iv. of the
Continu-
ation, p.
246. in
the note.

Affairs
and revo-
lutions in
the East
Indies.

The vast successes of the English in the East Indies rendered the affairs of that country very interesting to the people of Great Britain. It has been mentioned that Jaffier Ali Cawn, who was raised to the nabobship of Bengal, had been deposed for his cruelty and mal-administration, by the influence and address of the English president Vansittart; and that his son-in-law, Cossim Ali Cawn, had succeeded him in the nabobship, and had confirmed and augmented the privileges of the English company in the East Indies. Later adventures have explained the causes of that extraordinary revolution, which appears to have been chiefly owing to the jealousies which the English East-India company's servants there entertained, that Mhir Jaffier endeavoured to render himself independent of the company, by assassinating, or banishing from his court, all persons of any figure or consequence, who were known to favour the English.

lish. He was suspected of having entered into measures with the Dutch for calling them in to his assistance against the power and influence of the English in the country, and of his having offered to sacrifice the company's servants and interests to shah Zaddah, who pretended to be the true heir of the mogul empire. In short, it was pretended, that, by a series of cruelties and oppressions of various kinds, he had rendered it scandalous for the English to support his tyrannic government any longer; having brought the company's and his own affairs to the very brink of ruin. Such was the charge that was brought against this nabob by Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Holwell, and other servants of the East-India company in Bengal. Other gentlemen in the same service represented matters in a different light, which makes it necessary here to state more particularly the facts that preceded the deposition of Mhir Jaffier.

An. 1763.

Shah Zaddah, in right of his mogulship, claimed all the original powers exercised by the emperors of Indostan, or India, previous to the invasion of that empire by Nadir Shah; and we have already recounted the defeat he suffered by the English East-India company's forces, under major Carnac. It seems to be certain, that the death of Mhir Jaffier's son, who is said to have been killed in his tent by lightning, had made a strong impression upon the father, who was daily apprehensive of conspiracies against himself, as he had no son to succeed him. Jealousy and dread is the governing principle of those Eastern courts. A legal trial is seldom or never granted; to be suspected is to be guilty, and the

See vol.
iv. p. 245.

An. 1763. the most involuntary connections are admitted as evidences of treason. In consequence of those detestable maxims, Mhir Jaffier had put to death some of the late Surajah Dowla's family and friends; and it is very possible that he might have wished, not to have been so entirely dependent, as he was, upon the English, and, that they might have received some counter-balance from a partial admission of the Dutch into his government. It is, however, certain, that no part of his conduct gave unquestionable grounds for this surmise, because, after the Dutch made such an attempt, he sent troops to the assistance of the English, and, had the latter consented, he would have put them all to the sword.

Another article urged against Mhir Jaffier was, his having obstructed the currency of the English Calcutta coin; but from this charge his friends endeavoured to clear him, by alledging, that this stoppage was owing to the bankers, whose practices he could not controul, while Shah Zaddah was master of the southern provinces, and, by encouraging the tributary rajahs to rebel, cut off all the resources on which Mhir Jaffier depended for satisfying the demands of the English, who became every day more and more clamorous. Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Holwell resigned the presidentship and government of Fort William to Mr. Vansittart, in August 1760, and at the same time remonstrated to his successor the necessity of deposing Mhir Jaffier, for the causes above-mentioned, and many others, which rendered that nabob the object of public horror and detestation. But the conduct of the two English chiefs, if the unpopularity of Mhir

Mhir Jaffier was so great, is pretty unaccountable; An. 1763. for, instead of declaring openly against him, they laid a deep, and indeed an artful, train for his ruin. Mr. Holwell, it seems, had for some time, kept up a correspondence with Cossim Ali Cawn, Mhir Jaffier's son-in-law, who had made such propositions of advantage for the company, that he was considered as a proper person to succeed Mhir Jaffier, if the latter was deposed. Cossim, at this time, had the confidence of his father-in-law, whom he persuaded to send him, under pretence of concerting the operations of the approaching campaign, to Calcutta, where the measures were concerted for deposing Mhir Jaffier, or rather for depriving him of all power in the government. It was agreed, "That he should still maintain his dignity; that affairs should be transacted in his name, and that he should have an allowance to support him; that Cossim should conduct all the public affairs of the soubahship, and be named his successor, and live in perpetual alliance with the English factory. The English Sipoy's were to be always ready to assist him, and the revenues of the three countries of Burdwan, Midnepoor, and Chittegong, were to be assigned to the English."

Such were the principal articles of this clandestine treaty, by which a great prince (for such Mhir Jaffier was) without his own knowledge, was to be stripped of his power. We do not find any process, or proofs, that could ground the legality of this proceeding; but governor Vansittart in person took upon him the execution, and under the pretence of a visit, he went up to Morshedabad, the place of

Mhir Jaffier deposed,

the

An. 1763. the soubah's residence, and carried with him three letters, which he delivered himself, being attended by colonel Caillaud, who had succeeded colonel Clive in the command of the troops, with two hundred Europeans, and a party of Sipoy, under pretence of reinforcing the army at Patna. Mr. Vansittart, at the second visit paid him by the nabob, produced the letters. The first charged him with the non-payment of the English troops, and the great disorders of his government, to the apparent ruin of his affairs. The second letter related to the affairs of Patna; and the third mentioned certain articles to which he was required to submit, together with a requisition of lands, for the payment of the English troops, under the pain of his being forced to comply.

in favour
of Cossim
Ali Cawn.

It was no wonder if Mhir Jaffier was alarmed even to a state of distraction at those peremptory demands. He lamented the death of his son, which, he said, had impaired his understanding, and desired some time for consulting with his friends, which the governor was unwilling to grant, but pressed him to name some one of his relations, plainly enough pointing out Cossim, for the management of his affairs. Cossim was mentioned and sent for, but with a visible reluctance on the part of the nabob, which determined Vansittart to employ force. Cossim, being unwilling to come to the conference, occasioned such a delay, that Mr. Vansittart, to save appearances, was obliged to suffer Mhir Jaffier to return that night to his palace. Cossim and the governor consulted together that night and all the next day, and the English troops under colonel

Cal-

Caillaud, clandestinely passed the river, and, in conjunction with a party raised by Cossim, surrounded the palace. A letter was sent in to the nabob, demanding his immediate compliance, and dispositions were made for seizing his ministers. Mhir Jaffier could do nothing but complain in the most pathetic terms of the usage he met with from the English, whom he accused of perjury and breach of faith; but at last recollecting, that he had sworn to be for ever their friend, he dropt all thoughts of resentment, and offered, rather than continue under the power of his son-in-law, to resign the soubahship, provided he could be assured of a safe retreat in Calcutta, with an allowance for his maintenance. This proposition, which was construed into a voluntary resignation, was instantly agreed to, and Cossim proclaimed nabob, to the apparent satisfaction of the people. Mhir Jaffier was hurried into a boat, and sent to Calcutta, with some of his women, and an attendance no way suited to his dignity. A guard of English was appointed him by way of convoy to Calcutta.

The secret committee of the English council there had approved of Cossim's being appointed sole minister to Mhir Jaffier, and he began his government with a vigour unusual among the eastern princes, which ought to have alarmed our factory. The Shah Zaddah was defeated by the assistance of the English, and the rebellious rajahs were reduced. Cossim prevailed with the English to sacrifice to him Ramnaran, the deputy nabob of the province, of whom he was jealous, but who was the best friend the English had in Bengal. He

Disagreement in the English council.

An. 1763. then began to give strong indications of his intending to be quite independent of the English. He disciplined his troops in the European manner. He was even furnished with some heavy artillery by Mr. Vansittart, and provided a train from other quarters, which gave his troops the appearance of a disciplined army. He took some French into his pay : he engaged some of the English Sipoy and their officers to serve him ; and, not being fond of the neighbourhood of the factory, he retired from his capital to a strong fort three hundred miles distant from Calcutta.

Treaty
between
Cossim
and go-
vernor
Vansit-
tart,

Cossim soon convinced the English of their mistaken politics in raising him to the nabobship. He made a distinction between the trade of the company, as founded upon their rights, and the commerce of their servants, who, under pretence of a free trade, lent their names to Indian inland smugglers, so much to the prejudice of the revenue, that he complained, if the practice was continued, he should be unable to discharge his engagements with the English. It happened that this last complaint agreed exactly with the instructions which Mr. Vansittart had received from the East-India directors in England, for discouraging all the fraudulent trade of their servants, as being of the utmost prejudice to the company's interest. Cossim supporting his demands with great firmness, Mr. Vansittart paid him a visit to settle all differences, especially that relating to the inland trade carried on by the company's servants. To this trade it was owing, that so many great fortunes were made in the East Indies by the British subjects, who could not other-
wise

wife have subsisted upon the scanty allowance of the company. The sweets of this trade had been but lately discovered by the directors, who, perhaps, were not displeased, that, in some instances, Cossim checked it by force. Mr. Vansittart, on his arrival at the nabob's court, concluded a treaty with him, one of the articles of which subjected the company's servants to the judges of the nabob's courts in inland places. This treaty was no sooner communicated to the board at Calcutta, than the resident members there sent for all the chiefs of the out-factories, who had seats at the board; and the treaty was disapproved of. A deputation was voted to be sent to the nabob for better terms; consisting of Mr. Amyat the second, and some other gentlemen of the council; but, in the mean time they sent a letter to Mr. Vansittart (which he said he never received) rejecting the treaty.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Amyat and his companions, Cossim, who had by this time fortified Patna, and filled his treasury, insisted upon the validity of the treaty he had made with Vansittart. He had given orders for stopping the English goods at all his custom-houses, till they paid the duties stipulated by the new treaty, and which were more than double what they were before. He had procured from Mr. Vansittart a letter of the utmost importance to his interest *, containing the chief heads of the treaty;

which proves fatal to the gentlemen of the factory.

* "Your gracious perwanah is arrived, and has greatly honoured me. I am in-

formed of all the particulars of your high commands.

" It shall be written to the chiefs

An. 1763. treaty, and he sent copies of it to all the officers of his revenue, with orders to conform themselves to its terms. The English factory at Dacca complained to the council at Calcutta, that they must be absolutely undone if the treaty was carried into execution. The council voted it to be dishonourable, disadvantageous, and a breach of their privileges. But all this had no impression upon Cossim, who dismissed the deputation from his court with a negative, and ordered some boats, with arms belonging to the English, to be seized, near Patna, for the non-payment of the new duties.

Such was the state of affairs on the 24th of June, 1763, when Mr. Amyat and his companions, who were Messrs. Amphlett, Wollaston, and Hutchinson; lieutenant Jones, Gordon, and Cooper; and doctor Crooke (Messrs. Hay and Gulston remaining with the nabob as hostages) took their leave of Cossim Ali, with the usual passports, and set out in boats for Calcutta. In passing by the city of Morshedabad, they were attacked by a party of the nabob's troops on both sides of the river; and some of the English were killed in their boats. Mr. Amyat, with a few Sipoyes, whom he forbade to fire,

chiefs of our factories, that they are to give a dustuck for the buying and selling of ship-merchandise, and merchandise that they buy and sell; in every district for traffic in this country, they are to do according to custom of other traders and merchants, and not to give the company's

dustuck. They are to take a dustuck from the Backshbander, or Shahbunder, paying in upon the cost of the merchandise nine per cent. including wharfs and other receipts of custom; nor shall they use any manner of force or violence, extortion, or unfair dealing."

landed,

landed, and endeavoured to make the Indians sensible, that they were furnished with the nabob's passports: the Sipoy's fired, and Mr. Amyat with his party were cut in pieces.

While this tragedy was acting, Mr. Ellis, the English chief at Patna, with the approbation of captain Carstairs, the military commandant there, on the 25th of June, attacked and took the city of Patna, of which they were in possession for four hours, having driven out the Moorish or Indian governor and his garrison; but the latter, understanding that the English and their Sipoy's were intent on plundering, returned, and soon retook the city; from whence, in their turn, they drove the English, who crossed the river, and proceeded towards Surajah Dowla's country. While they were on their march, on the 1st of July, they were attacked by a large body of the natives, with four or five hundred Sipoy's, who defeated the English, killed about fifty of them, with eight or nine officers, among whom was captain Carstairs. Next day Mr. Ellis and all the remainder of his party, were made prisoners, and some of them sent to Patna, but Mr. Ellis, with the greatest part, to Mongheer.

Revolu-
tion at
Patna,
which is
taken and
retaken.

In the mean time Mr. Vansittart at Calcutta very candidly acknowledged the necessity of breaking the late treaty, the meaning of which had been so notoriously perverted by Cossim; in consequence of which a resolution was taken to declare war against him, and to restore Mhir Jaffer to the soubahship, upon his granting the company very advantageous terms, besides engaging to reimburse them in all the expences

Victori-
ous pro-
gress of
the Eng-
lish under
major
Adams.

An. 1763. of the war. Major Adams, who then commanded the company's troops, took the field, and in a few days was joined by Mhir Jaffier. They directed their march towards Morshedabad; and, on the 19th of July, they came up with a party of the enemy, whom they defeated with an inconsiderable loss, and killed Mahomed Tuckey-Cawn, who commanded the party that had slaughtered Mr. Amyat and his companions. At the same time, they made themselves masters of the fort of Cûtwa, with all the enemy's artillery there, and in the field; and on the 24th, after a trifling opposition, they entered the important city of Morshedabad, where Mhir Jaffier was proclaimed soubah. The company's troops refreshed themselves here for some days, and resuming their march, they were opposed at the head of Cossimbuzar river by a large army of Cossim's best troops and artillery. An engagement followed, in which it soon appeared, by the firm stand which the natives made, that they had been improved in their discipline; but, after a long dispute, they were totally defeated. The loss of the English consisted of six officers, forty Europeans, and about three hundred Sipoyes and black horse killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was very considerable; twenty-three pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English, with one hundred and fifty boats, among which were those they had taken at Patna, laden with military, and other, stores. The major then advanced to Rajamant, near which he forced a strong entrenchment of the enemy, and thereby deprived them

them of all their supplies of provisions from Bengal, which he entirely secured to the company. An. 1763.

In all these operations, major Carnac, who had been displaced from his command for his opposition to Mr. Vansittart, distinguished himself with great gallantry and good conduct; which major Adams so warmly and generously represented to the company, that they restored him to his command of their forces at Bengal. Major Adams, on the 11th

of October, completed the campaign by the reduction of Mongheer, without the loss of a man. It was remarkable, that Cossim's artillery was mounted in the English manner, and served by two hundred Europeans, who had been taken at Patna, (but none of them English, for they had refused to enter into his service), and were kept prisoners at Mongheer. His Sipoyes were armed and cloathed in the English manner, and divided into brigades. Their skill in chusing their ground was greater than ever had been before known in the East Indies; and it was believed by major Adams, that the Armenians and some Europeans were principally instrumental in reducing his troops to discipline.

Cossim's
troops
disciplin-
ed by Eu-
ropeans.

From what has been premised, the reader must have a contemptible idea of Indian fortification, as their strongest towns and entrenchments, though guarded by numerous armies, were so easily reduced by the handful of men commanded by major Adams. Upon the reduction of Mongheer, he sent a detachment, under captain Wedderburn, towards Patna, to which Cossim had retired, with orders to block up that place, and to inform the

Horrid
massacre
of the
English.

An. 1763. English prisoners there of his approach. He effectually executed the first part of his commission, but was prevented from discharging the second by the barbarity of Cossim. This tyrant employed one Somers, a German ruffian, who had entered into his service, to massacre the English prisoners. The latter so little expected such a fate, that, upon Somers's arrival with some Sipoy's he commanded, they prepared to receive him as a companion. The barbarian on pretence of inviting them to supper, borrowed all their knives and forks, and sending for Messrs. Ellis and Lushington, he and his assassins immediately dispatched them, but not before the latter had killed one, and wounded two, of the murderers. Messrs. Chambers, Amphlett, and Gullston, who were next sent for, underwent the same fate; but one Mr. Smith escaping with a wound back to the room, alarmed the rest of the gentlemen, who defended themselves for some time bravely with their plates and bottles, and obliged the Sipoy's to retire; but the assassins discharging their pieces, shot them all dead. The number massacred in that house were forty-nine gentlemen, of whom twenty-five were in irons. Fifty soldiers, who were in irons likewise, were massacred at the same time, as were nine other gentlemen, and the remainder of the English prisoners, amounting in the whole to two hundred, in different parts of the country. This massacre was so barbarous, that it was reluctantly performed by the Sipoy's, who desired Somers to give the prisoners arms, and that they would fight them; alledging, that it was unfair to kill them in so cowardly a manner: but the ruffian

hian struck several of them down with bamboos, and was so cruel as to put to death a child of Mr. Ellis. One Fullerton, a physician, was the only person who escaped from Patna, having, a few days before, received a pardon from Cossim.

That tyrant extended his cruelty to all the natives who were thought to be in the English interest. He put to death the famous banker Tagulpat, and his brother, with Ramnaran, whom he had kept in captivity ever since he was delivered up by the English, with about twenty-eight others, and left their bodies to be devoured by birds and beasts, the most exquisite punishment that a superstitious East-Indian can devise to a departed spirit. Major Adams found large magazines of ammunition and grain in Mongheer, and, after making the necessary dispositions, he proceeded against Patna, which was garrisoned by ten thousand men left by Cossim, who retired to the westward. He ordered, however, a party of horse to harraßs the English in their march; but without any effect, for major Adams arrived within two miles of Patna, where he took up a strong post, and prepared to form a regular siege. His manœuvres were interrupted by a strong detachment of the enemy's Sipoyß, who, with some difficulty, were beaten off, but not before they had blown up a principal magazine, the property of the English; three boats belonging to the company, laden with ammunition, were lost at the same time by a violent gust of wind. The siege, however, went on, though with great difficulty. The enemy made an obstinate defence, by which many of the English officers were wounded, but the

Farther
cruelties
of Cossim.

An. 1763. the city was at last carried, and Cossim retired precipitately to Lassarum, from whence he proceeded with all his treasure and valuable effects to the confines of Surajah Dowla's country, where all he could obtain was an asylum for himself and his family.

Proceed-
ings of
the East-
India
company
in Eng-
land.

So many vicissitudes of the English affairs in the East Indies, occasioned an incredible ferment in London; among all who had any concern with that company. The public was surprized that such important events had passed without being known to any but the directors; and a party was formed, with lord Clive at its head, for putting the direction into other hands, at the approaching election of directors. On the 12th of March, a very numerous general court of the East-India proprietors was held, and opened by Sir Francis Gosling, who declared, "The business of their meeting to be to enquire into the present condition of the company's affairs abroad; to endeavour to discover the causes of the misfortunes that had happened at Bengal; to learn what steps had been taken by the directors to remedy those misfortunes; and their reasons for dismissing many of their old servants, and appointing a gentleman, seventh in the council at Bombay, (meaning Mr. Vansittart) to be governor at Bengal, in preference to another gentleman who should regularly have succeeded to that trust."

The business of the day was then divided into three heads. Under the first was discussed the conduct of Mr. Vansittart in advancing Cossim Ali Cawn to the nabobship, and deposing Mhir Jaffier, in direct opposition, as was alledged, to his council,

cil, whom he ought to have consulted. As the original principles upon which this revolution was brought about had been entirely conformable to the sentiments of the directors themselves, this matter bore a strenuous debate, which threw the assembly into some confusion, if not tumult. Many letters and papers were read to prove the expediency and necessity of the measure, and many to shew its pernicious tendency ; but their contents were so directly contradictory to one another, that the debates on this head were, upon the whole, trifling and ineffectual. Under the second head was discussed the management of the company's servants at Calcutta. It was alledged, and many papers produced to confirm it, that the majority of the council had demanded exorbitant sums from the new nabob, who had refused to comply with the payment, while the governor protested against them. It was, on the other hand urged, that, without breaking the arrangements which had been made between Cossim and Mr. Vansittart, the company's affairs must have been absolutely ruined in India. To this it was replied, that they could have had no other effect than the reducing the profits of the company's servants, who wanted to be exempted from all duties, and even to trade duty-free. Nay, it was urged, that they often covered under their names the illicit trade of the natives. The undue preference that had been given to many of the company's principal servants, formed the third and last head of this debate, which grew more warm than ever, the friends of those postponed or preferred interesting themselves with uncommon ardour.

An. 1763. But we are here to take a short view of the state of lord Clive's affairs with regard to the company, and which indeed were thought to have given rise to the original division among the directors and proprietors.

See vol. ii.
p. 46 to
p. 52.
State of
the case
between
the com-
pany and
lord Clive.

We have already more than once mentioned the vast services performed by lord Clive, when in the company's service in India, for which he had been recompenced very deservedly by Mhir Jaffier, with a jaghire, or settlement, upon the revenues of that country, issuing from the reserved rent of the lands which had been ceded to the company by that prince; and this jaghire, which amounted to near 30,000 l. a year, was consequently to be paid by the factory. As his lordship had so great a concern in the welfare of the company, he thought it was reasonable that he should have some part of its management. He differed with the directors in wording the article relating to the East Indies in the preliminaries for peace, and it was accordingly altered; many occurrences happened which indicated that those who were in the secret of the direction were averse to his lordship's having a seat at their board, and the opposition to him was thought to arise principally from Mr. Sullivan, the deputy-chairman, who was said to understand the affairs of the direction better than any man in England. His lordship's interest being very strong, his friends pressed his admission into the directorship; and matters went so high, that orders were sent to the company's servants to stop the payment of the jaghire, for the recovery of which his lordship brought a suit in the chancery of England.

Various



ROBERT Lord CLIVE.



An. 1763.
Debates
on that
head.

Various were the reasons alledged by the directors for this detention, which the public in general resented as injurious. They objected to the disposition which his lordship had made of the treasures of the nabob whom he had deposed; and that he had with-held from the relations of the sufferers in the black-hole at Calcutta the sums stipulated for their indemnification. He was likewise accused of remitting money home by a Dutch ship, contrary to the regulations of the company, and of having supplied a Portuguese ship with goods and money; but the chief allegation which lay against him was, that he had no right to the jaghire, which was paid at the company's expence. In answer to these allegations, his lordship addressed a letter to the proprietors, which confuted them beyond all possibility of reply. He proved that the relations of the sufferers at Calcutta, as appeared by their own letters of thanks to him, had been more than indemnified by the scrupulous exactness with which the stipulations in their favour had been fulfilled; that the nabob's treasures had been punctually applied, according to agreement with Mhir Jaffier, to whom they belonged, and that he sent no money by Dutch ships but in bills, which, not being due till three years after date, were in danger of never being paid, as he was then opposing the designs of the Dutch in Bengal; and that, at the time he sent those bills, the company's servants thought it inconsistent with their interest to grant bills. The charge with regard to the Portuguese ship, was proved to be a groundless falsity; and his lordship shewed that he had at least as good a right

to

An. 1763. to his jaghire as the company had to the vast estates which they possessed in the East Indies.

The more disinterested part of the proprietors were of opinion that nothing but the credit, experience, and abilities, of lord Clive in person could retrieve the disorder into which their affairs were thrown in the East Indies. Other meetings were accordingly held to bring about this desirable end; and a motion was made, that lord Clive should be requested to take upon him the presidentship of Bengal, and the command of the military forces there. His lordship, in his answer, shewed himself ready to comply with the motion, provided matters could be settled, so that he could proceed with vigour, supported by a friendly and united direction. Upon this, a letter was sent in form to his lordship; but in the mean time such altercations passed between him and the deputy chairman, that it was very plain his lordship was resolved to decline the presidentship and all military command, if that gentleman continued to take the lead in the company's affairs at London. The directors in the opposition to his lordship, upon this published the favourable accounts of their affairs in the East Indies which they had received from major Adams, and which they hoped would convince the public, that there was no necessity for courting lord Clive to accept of the presidentship, which he continued to decline unless Mr. Sullivan was displaced from his power. The publication of the accounts from major Adams and governor Vansittart damped the zeal of many who had been most forward in pressing lord Clive to name his own terms; and the house-

list, as it was called, prevailed against that of the proprietors, which had been formed by his lordship's friends. An. 1763.

Mr. Sullivan, however, was so near being thrown out of the direction, which he carried only by one vote upon the scrutiny of the ballot, that it was plain, business could not be done, if he continued to lead the board of directors; and a ballot being taken for a chairman, Mr. Rous, lord Clive's friend, was elected, and Mr. Bolton deputy-chairman. This event gave so general a satisfaction, that the company's stock immediately rose upon it, and fresh applications were made to lord Clive. His lordship, in a letter addressed to the directors, took notice, that a law-suit was depending between him and the company, concerning his jaghire, which rendered it highly improper for him to go abroad before it was determined; "and therefore, said his lordship, allow me to suggest to you the expediency of referring the matter to a general court of the proprietors, with the proposal I now make, viz. That I shall enjoy my jaghire for ten years, provided the company shall remain so long in possession of those lands, of which the jaghire is the quit-rent, and provided I shall live so long. At the end of ten years, or at my death, if it should happen first, my right and title to the jaghire shall cease; and, on my arrival in India, I shall use my utmost endeavours with the nabob, to secure the reversion of it to the company. Should my death happen early in this service, I submit to the consideration of the directors and proprietors (but do not insist

Mr. Sullivan
turned
out of the
chair.

upon

An. 1763. upon it) whether it cannot be continued to my heirs for five years."

Debate
and divi-
sion upon
lord
Clive's
propo-
sals.

In consequence of this letter a general court of the East-India company was held, to deliberate on its contents, which were highly applauded by the public for their moderation; and a resolution passed for taking the sense of the proprietors by a ballot for empowering the court of directors "to agree with lord Clive for the payment of his jaghire during ten years, if his lordship should so long live, and the company shall be in actual possession of the lands, out of which it issues, and the revenues thereof during that period of time." This question created great debates. The court of directors thought themselves obliged to justify their proceedings upon the jaghire, by producing the opinions which they had taken from the learned of the law. Lord Clive's friends did the same on their side; and they were found, on the whole, to be confused, contradictory, and irreconcilable to each other. The majority of the meeting, however, seemed inclinable to close with his lordship's proposal, and a day was fixed for the ballot. Before the company broke up, a motion was made, on the part of his lordship's friends, with a view of facilitating the success of the ballot, "That, for the future, none of the company's servants in the East Indies should, upon pain of expulsion, receive from any of the nabobs, or from any others, any kind of gratuity or reward, without the concurrence or consent of the council, or of the court of directors of the East-India company." This resolution met with applause, and passed.

On

On the day after the ballot was taken, it appeared that the question was carried for allowing lord Clive his jaghire by a majority of 583 against 396. Other motions of less importance were then made, particularly upon a resolution that had been taken by the court of directors to recommend major Adams to the secretary at war, for his majesty to confer on him some higher post, that he may be continued at Bengal so long as the exigencies of affairs should require. A motion being made upon this resolution, it was strongly opposed, as tending to impose a check upon lord Clive, who was then making preparations for his departure. The motion, however, was carried, as were other motions, for returning the thanks of the court to major Carnac, and the other officers and troops who had so gallantly served under major Adams. After this, many debates ensued, which discovered that great heart-burnings still remained among the proprietors; but they were of too private a nature to merit a place here. Lord Clive had formed a military establishment for the East Indies, by reducing the company's troops into regiments, and keeping up two battalions in England, with various other regulations; but as the discussing of those particulars must have taken up too much time, the debate was ended by a motion being carried, "That the company's affairs in Bengal requiring immediate attention, and the season being very far advanced, lord Clive be desired to embark forthwith for that government; and that all the officers now appointed be ordered to proceed thither without delay."

An. 1763.
Which
are ac-
cepted
of.

An. 1763. During those and many other unimportant debates, the company received the alarming news of a most dreadful storm *, that had happened to their shipping in the East Indies; and his majesty was pleased to confer the order of the Bath upon lord Clive, who soon after departed for the East Indies. We are now to return to the course of our history, which we have found necessary to discontinue, that we might preserve the narrative of the East-India affairs entire; and for that purpose we shall, as usual, take a general view of the state of Europe, about the middle of the year 1763.

State of
affairs on
the conti-
nent of
Europe.

The several powers upon the continent wisely applied themselves to settle the civil policy of their dominions, which had suffered so dreadfully during the late war. The empress of Russia, having by force reinstated count Biron in the duchy of Courland, followed the plan which had been struck

* Advice came to the India-house by the Ashburnham, Pearce, and the Plaissey, Ward, of great damage done in Madras road the 21st of October, 1763, viz. ship Union run ashore, and beat to pieces; Fazala, cut away her masts, and foundered; snow Sea-boat, ketch Tryal, and snow Speedwell, run ashore, and beat to pieces; snow Calcutta foundered; snow Success run ashore; snow London run ashore, nothing saved; snow Neptune run foul of the Calcutta, and both sunk to-

gether; snow Nelly drove ashore, and beat to pieces; the Hope foundered. The Norfolk, adm. Cornish; the America, capt. Pitchford; and the Weymouth, capt. Collins, put to sea the 20th, and returned the 24th dismasted, with much water in their holds. The Royal Charlotte of 400 tons, a country ship, put to sea with the men of war, and returned with the loss of her fore and main masts. More than 300 paddy boats were foundered or driven on shore.

out by her unhappy husband, in forming closer connections than ever with the king of Prussia, but discovered an eager desire that the court of London should enter into their measures. His Prussian majesty applied himself with incredible ardour to the promotion of agriculture and the civil arts in his kingdom. He softened the rigour of the military jurisdiction, which his officers used to exercise over the peasants; and he left the censure of the generals Zastrow and Fink, with other officers who were thought to have misbehaved in the late war, to courts-martial, by whom some were broke, others degraded, and some imprisoned, but none of them condemned to death. The imperial court concerted measures with his Prussian majesty for the archduke Joseph to be elected king of the Romans; a step which was thought to be the most probable means of preventing the future troubles of the empire, should its throne become vacant.

As to the court of France, its ministers were embarrassed by the heavy debts contracted in the late war; and tho' they applied themselves to the reparation of their marine, it made but a slow progress, thro' the lowness of their finances, while their assiduity and success were greatly exaggerated by the malcontents in England. The court of Madrid received intelligence of their troops having made themselves masters of the colony of St. Sacrament, belonging to the Portuguese, with a vast booty. At the same time their attention was employed in procuring the evacuation of the Savannah by the British troops, which was happily effected. The death of the king of Poland, which

An. 1763.
Death of
the king
of Poland.

The can-
didates to
succeed
him.

happened on the 5th of October, threatened new convulsions to that part of Europe. The courts of Versailles and Vienna shewed dispositions for opposing the elevation of a Piast, or native, to that throne, to which the people inclined; and the elector of Saxony declared himself a candidate, in a circular letter which he wrote to all the nobles of Poland. On the other hand, the empress of Russia had private as well as political reasons for seeing a Piast upon the throne, and loudly declared, that she would support the freedom of the Polish election with a sufficient force. In this declaration she was joined by his Prussian majesty, who at the same time had interest enough at the Ottoman court to bring that ministry into the same sentiments; and thus the three powers in Europe who had the greatest influence in the election, concurred with the general voice of the Polish nation. The court of England, with the other powers of Europe, observed a perfect neutrality in all the transaction; and the death of the elector of Saxony, which happened soon after that of his father, left the contest to be decided among the Piaſts. Prince Czartorinski, at first, stood for the election, as did several other Polish noblemen. It was for some time imagined, that his Prussian majesty interested himself in the affair, because his brother prince Henry would likewise declare himself a candidate. The public, however, was soon undeceived as to the real views of the empress of Russia, who highly favoured count Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, who had for some time resided at the court of Petersburg, and for whom her imperial majesty was said to have en-

entertained a high regard. Indeed, the magnificent presents she made him upon his declaring himself a candidate, left little room for the rest of Europe to doubt of his success, especially as the court of Vienna seemed to employ all its attention for facilitating the election of a king of the Romans. In this situation stood the affairs of Europe towards the beginning of the year 1764, so far, at least, as they related to Great Britain.

The court of London, in the mean time, appeared to be intirely indifferent with regard to the opposition formed against the government, and proceeded with the utmost firmness in establishing the plan of policy it had adopted. A magnificent entry was made by the Venetian ambassadors into London on the 18th of April, and the parade continued for two or three days after, when they were introduced to his majesty at St. James's. The duke de Nivernois took leave of the court next month, highly pleased with the success of his embassy, and amazed at the magnificence and riches of the English court and nation. A public thanksgiving on occasion of the peace was observed, and numbers of illustrious foreigners resorted to the English court, which then seemed entirely intent upon festivities. But under those appearances his majesty and the ministry were pursuing the most steady means for insuring the advantages of peace. Though there appeared the greatest unanimity between them and the court of France, yet very serious remonstrances were made to the latter, concerning several matters of importance which had been left unsettled at the conclusion of the general

Affairs
between
England
and
France.

An. 1763. peace. An arrear of about 1,200,000 l. was due to England for the maintenance of the French prisoners during the time of the war; and the French, on the other hand, brought a large charge against the British ministry for their ships which had been taken before the declaration of hostilities, alledging that the captures were illegal, and that the produce of them was a sufficient fund for the support of their prisoners; but the members of the English council were of a different opinion. They considered the French as the aggressors in the war, which had been in fact declared by the hostilities they had commenced in America. In consequence of this principle, commissioners had been named, who sold the prizes; and their produce, amounting to about 700,000 l. was generously given by his majesty towards lessening the public burthens.

Difficulties about the Canada bills.

The affair of the Canada bills was another undetermined point between the two courts. The French king, by a particular act, stood engaged for their discharge. Those bills were paper-money, and were of two sorts; either bills of exchange on the royal treasury of Old France, or ordonnances, which were a kind of notes of hand payable by that king. In this manner the French government paid their subjects of Canada the balance due to them upon their trade, which, though detrimental to the royal finances, was very profitable to individuals; and the people of Canada preferred the ordonnances even to ready money. For this reason, when Canada fell into the hands of the English, the old inhabitants were possessed of that paper currency to
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a very considerable amount, some of the ordonnances being dated so far back as the year 1729. In 1759, Bigot, the French intendant, who signed those ordonnances and bills of exchange, issued vast quantities of them, on pretence that they were necessary for the purposes of the war; and the Canadians took them as usual, paying for them in necessities to their full amount. Upon the English taking possession of the province, it was found that the trade of Canada could not subsist unless those bills were paid; nor could the new subjects of England, who held them, pay for the goods they imported from Great Britain. Under this difficulty many English merchants were, in a manner, obliged to accept of them in payment, trusting to the declaration signed by the duke de Choiseul, when the definitive treaty was concluded, for their being discharged. Upon the return of Bigot to France, that court accused him of having wantonly and fraudulently issued out great numbers of those bills, for which he and his accomplices were severely fined and punished. The French court, therefore, besides the plea of inability, which they brought to excuse them from the immediate payment, pretended to liquidate them according to the value originally received for them, alledging, that no time for their payment was specified in the duke de Choiseul's declaration. The total sum of this paper currency was said to amount to about two millions and a half sterling; and the English merchants insisted upon the notes they were in possession of being either discharged,

An. 1763. or rendered negotiable, by a time being fixed for their payment.

Demolition of Dunkirk.

The demolition of Dunkirk was another object in which the British ministry at this time warmly interested themselves. The shameful evasions of the French in performing this article after the treaty of Utrecht, and the more shameful connivances of the whig ministers in England at that non-execution, were fresh in the minds of the public. All the reproaches thrown out in former times on that account were now renewed; but the remonstrances of the British ministry were so effectual, that in November the nation had authentic information that the cunette of Dunkirk was entirely filled up, excepting a trifling part, for which there was no earth; and that near three hundred men were employed in demolishing the king's bastion there. Thus, in a few months, the ministry under George the Third obliged the French court to do what they had either evaded or refused to perform for above fifty years before.

History of the Indian insurrection and war.

The state of the British affairs in America became now the most important of all considerations to the government, which acted in such a manner, as plainly indicated that his majesty intended to make that country as much the object of his attention, as Germany had been that of his predecessors. The French Jesuits and their partizans still kept up their interest with the natives, and instigated them, especially the Cherokee Indians, to hostilities against the English. Those savages, however rude and uninformed, were found to be highly susceptible

tible of resentment, and complained of suffering many grievances in their trade with the English. Though those complaints were probably founded on the suggestions of the French, yet the general assembly of the province of Pensylvania passed an act for preventing abuses in the Indian trade, and for strengthening peace and friendship with the northern Indians. Notwithstanding this, and many other wise precautions, taken both in America and Great Britain to quiet the savages, every dispatch brought fresh accounts of the inhuman massacres and devastations committed by them in the back-settlements of the English. In the spring of the year 1763, the Six Nations, as they are called, had a meeting with the Delawares, and others of the savage tribes, who sent deputies to Hertford, in New-York, representing that the lands on the Susquehanna belonged to them; complaining that the English had begun to build forts there, to extend their possessions, as far as the western seas; and declaring that, whatever pretended deeds might be produced, especially by one Lydias, of their having disposed of those lands, they were resolved to defend them to the last extremity.

It was known at the council board of England, that some of those complaints were but too well founded, and instructions were sent to all the British governors in America, to prevent any settlements being made on the lands of the Indians, under pretence of deeds of sale and conveyance fraudulently obtained from the savages. The governors, accordingly, had issued proclamations against all such settlements being made, and order-

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Massacres
commit-
ted by the
savages;

An. 1763. ing that, if already made, they should be evacuated. The savages at Hertford had been instructed by their constituents, that as soon as their complaint was lodged they should return, without waiting for an answer ; but they were persuaded to remain till the governor explained himself in a manner that would have been to their satisfaction, if they had not previously concerted a most diabolical scheme of a massacre. They had resolved to have assembled in a body, and to have made a general attack upon the British back-settlers, while they were getting in their harvest ; and after having murdered all they could meet with, to have destroyed their provisions, that no subsistence might remain for those who escaped. The eager forwardness of some young Indians prevented the total execution of this infernal design, which they executed in part with amazing barbarity, and with a cunning and conduct of which they were thought to have been incapable. The back-settlements were instantly filled with savages from the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh, Sandusky, and Detroit, where they put all the defenceless English to the sword. Of an hundred and twenty traders, trafficking in the back-settlements, only two or three escaped being murdered ; Sir Robert Davers, an English gentleman, who out of curiosity was viewing the lakes of North America, together with one colonel Clapham, an officer belonging to the garrison of Fort Pitt, underwent the same fate. The savages, afterwards, regularly attacked all the small posts between Pittsburgh and Lake Erie, giving out to the garrison of every post, that they had destroyed that

that which was adjoining, and exceedingly exaggerating their own numbers. Of one hundred of the settlers, and others, who were escorting a large quantity of provisions and goods to Detroit, sixty-seven were massacred. The savages spared all the French that were of the convoy; but finding that the goods belonged to the English, they seized the whole: nor did the French make any resistance from the beginning. Having inveigled, with fair pretences, one Mr. Colhoun to trust them, they plundered him, and killed ten of his people, he himself narrowly escaping. In short, the desolation those barbarians spread was frightful; whole families were murdered, their corn and stock of provisions destroyed, the settlements for twenty miles were deserted, and five hundred poor families, with women and children, who had the good fortune to escape, fled to the woods of Virginia, where they could find neither shelter nor subsistence.

When the English were somewhat recovered from their consternation at this dreadful scene, they repulsed the savages from Bedford, Ligonier, Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt. The two last-mentioned garrisons were prepared to receive them. A large body of them appeared before Fort Detroit, on pretence of holding a congress with major Gladwin, the commandant, who being on his guard, refused to admit them, and put his garrison under arms. Next day the savages were joined by five hundred more of their own number, all armed, who demanded admittance into the fort. The commandant offered to admit forty; and they required to confer

who be-
siege De-
troit,

An. 1763. confer with two officers, whom they detained, and afterwards scalped. They then practised a great many arts to become masters of the place, and to have carried it by surprize. For this purpose, they cut off all the garrisons of the out-posts, with those of Presque Isle and St. Joseph; and suddenly possessed themselves of the post of Michilimakinac, where they massacred all the garrison but two officers. The garrison of Fort Detroit, which is no other than a square stockade with four bastions, when the savages appeared first before it, consisted of no more than eighty persons who carried arms, and thirty-four on board two vessels which enfiladed three sides of the square, and struck vast terror into the Indians, who, however, still continued the blockade. On the 30th of July, captain Dalyel, aid-de camp to general Amherst, arrived at the fort, and laid a plan for surprizing the savages, who were preparing to depart. The captain marched out with two hundred and forty-five men, attended by two boats, with a patterero in each. At the distance of two miles and a half from the fort they came up with the Indians, who were covered by breast-works, and at first received the English, who attacked them in the dark, with a brisk regular fire, which did considerable execution. The detachment, however, with difficulty got possession of some of the works; but captain Dalyel seeing it impracticable to hold them, made dispositions for a retreat, when he was killed by the savages. The command devolved upon captain Grant, who was so hard pressed on every side by a continual fire from the inclosures, that he was obliged to
make

and de-
feat the
English.

make the best of his way, with the detachment under his command, to the armed boats, which covered their retreat, and carried off their wounded; however, it was with great difficulty that they regained the fort, the savages having been strongly reinforced during the action, in which about seventy of the English were killed, exclusive of captain Dalyel, and forty-two wounded.

The resolute and regular behaviour of the savages during this action, convinced the English that they were improved in their discipline; and they were confirmed in this opinion, by an action which happened two days after, between them and colonel Bouquet, who commanded a party sent to the relief of Fort Pitt, formerly Fort du Quesne, by Sir Jeffery Amherst, the British commander in chief in America. The works of this important fort had never been completed, and had suffered lately by an inundation. The savages found it in this condition, and provided with a weak garrison, when they surrounded it, with a design to take it by famine. Being destitute of all means of making regular approaches, they took post in the banks of the adjacent rivers, and blockaded it so effectually, that they cut it off from all communications without, murdering all the messengers who were carrying intelligence either to or from the fort. In this desperate situation, captain Ecuyer, the English commandant, and his garrison, resolved to die, rather than surrender to so inhuman an enemy; and dispositions were made accordingly. General Amherst was sensible, from the situation of the place, that it would become

They
blockade
Fort Pitt.

- An. 1763. one of the principal objects of savage fury, and ordered colonel Bouquet to march to its relief, with a large quantity of provisions and stores, under a strong escort. The colonel, in his march, could receive no intelligence of the enemy, who had posted themselves in all passes, and either killed all his messengers, or obliged them to return. By this it appeared that the Indians had excellent intelligence. When the colonel, on the 5th of August, came to Ligonier, he found it proper to leave the waggons, the powder, and the chief part of the stores and provisions there ; while he proceeded with the troops, and about three hundred and forty horses, loaded with flour. The Indians, by this time, had abandoned the blockade of Fort Pitt, to attack the English on their march, which lay through a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, extending several miles in length, with high rugged grounds on each side. While the colonel was preparing to pass this defile in the night-time, and while his men were refreshing themselves, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, his advanced guard was suddenly attacked by the savages ; but, being speedily supported, they were repulsed, driven from some of their posts, and pursued a considerable way. Soon after the pursuit ceased, the savages returned to the attack, and appeared upon all the eminences round, from whence they kept up an incessant fire upon the English, who gave them a general charge with their whole line. Though this dislodged the savages at first, they soon

They attack the English convoy,

An. 1763.

soon recovered other heights, and thickened round in such a manner, by means of fresh reinforcements, that the convoy which was left in the rear of the English was in danger of being taken. The latter returned to protect it, and the engagement became general.

The savages supported their attempt with unparalleled regularity and order, from one o'clock at noon till night; and then, with great difficulty, were repulsed and driven from their posts, with fixed bayonets, though with considerable loss to the English, of whom above sixty were killed or wounded. But this repulse was far from being decisive. The English could do no more than to take post on the hill in such a manner as to surround their convoy with their wounded, and cover them from the enemy, who formed an outer circle at the distance of about five hundred yards, where they emitted the most terrible shouts and yells to intimidate the English. In the morning they attacked the camp under an incessant fire. It was in vain for the English to repel them, because when pressed they retired, but immediately returned to the charge with redoubled ardour; so that the situation of the troops attacked was truly deplorable; galled by the fire of the savages, fatigued by the preceding engagement, and faint and dispirited through a total want of water. Had they attempted to break through the enemy to have gained a more secure and comfortable situation, they must have left their convoy to be plundered, and their wounded

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An. 1763.

wounded to be butchered; not to mention that they had lost many of their horses, and that the drivers of those who remained were so stupified by their fears, that they slunk into bushes, and were incapable of doing their duty. In the mean time, the fury of the savages encreased, and their attempts to break into the camp were more violent than ever; but still, when pressed, they kept aloof, that they might rally, and return with the greater effect. The English followed the only method that could be practised for disengaging themselves, which was by making dispositions for an apparent retreat, and thereby encouraging the savages to come to a closer engagement. Colonel Bouquet ordered two companies of his troops, who had been the most advanced in the engagement, to fall in with the circle, and the troops on the right and left to open their files, as if to cover the retreat of the others; while another company of light infantry, and one of grenadiers, were directed to support the two first companies. The savages who possessed the ground lately occupied by the two light infantry companies, drawing nearer at the same time to the center of the circle, thought themselves so secure of victory, that they pressed on, but still pouring in a heavy fire, till major Campbell, with the first companies, from a part of the hill which they could not observe, attacked their right flank; and being seconded by captain Bassett, from another quarter, the barbarians were every way

way hemmed in, and at last totally dispersed with great slaughter. An. 1763.

When the pursuit of the English ceased, and the wood was cleared of the enemy, litters were made for the wounded, but the greatest part of their flour and provisions was destroyed for want of horses to carry them off. The English now proceeded about two miles farther, to a place called Bushy Run; but, notwithstanding the late defeat, the savages again attacked the English in their new camp, tho' less vigorously than before; and being repulsed, the troops continued their march till they arrived at Fort Pitt, in four days after their engagement. The loss which the English sustained upon the whole was above an hundred killed and wounded, that of the savages was not much greater, owing to their manner of fighting; tho' those barbarians, whose tribes are very thin, looked upon it as being very considerable. But though the two forts of Detroit and Pitt were thus secured, yet the war still continued in other parts, and it is incredible with what foresight and resolution they took their measures in way-laying the convoys, or in surprising the parties of the English. When colonel Bouquet arrived at Fort Pitt, he found captain Ecuyer, who had been wounded in the leg, reduced almost to extremity, having raised a parapet of logs around the fort, by the help only of a few shipwrights, and taken every other imaginable precaution, for the safety of the place. Upon the whole, though the improvement of the savages in the art of war was a melancholy consideration to the English, yet it was some comfort to the latter, to learn

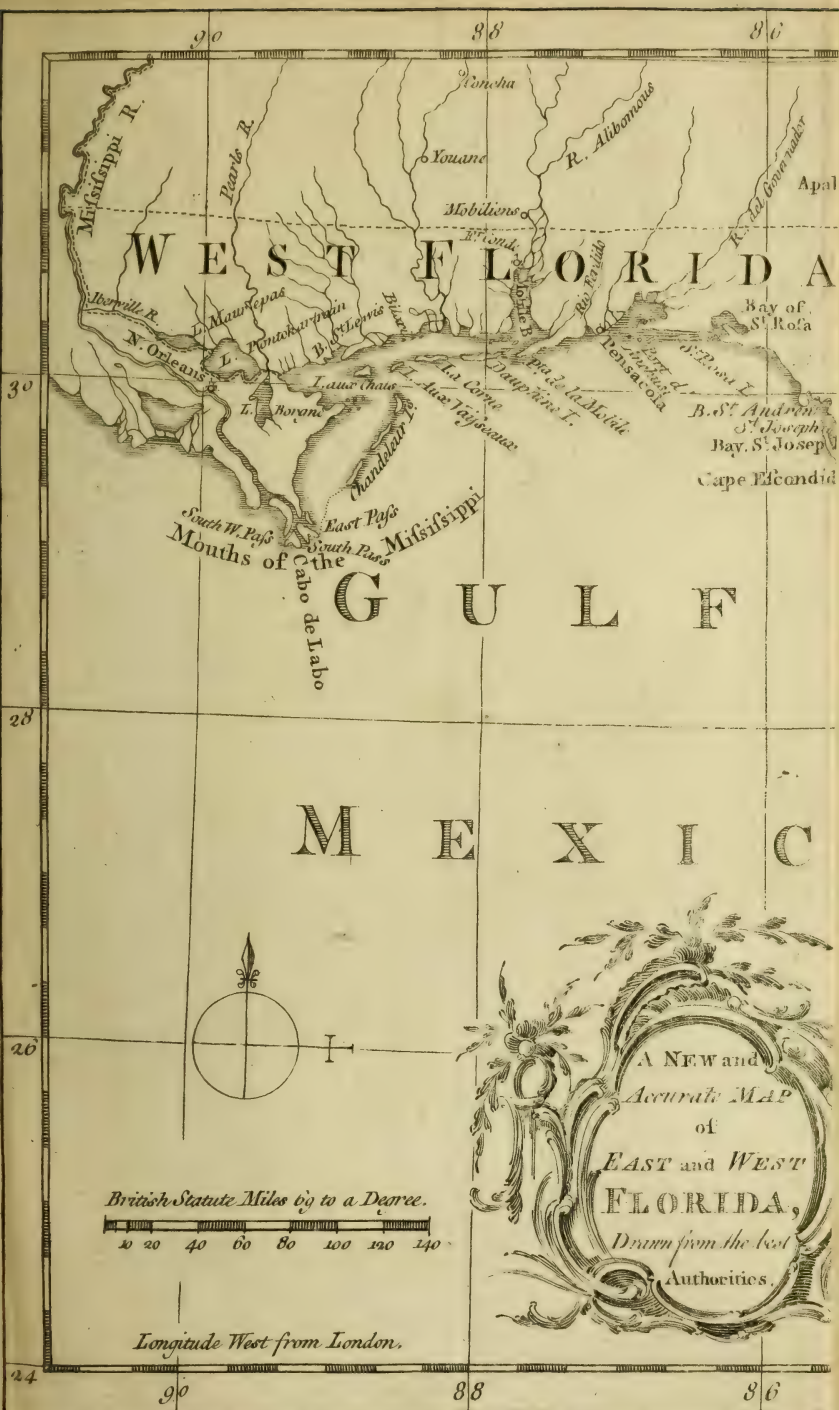
The English arrive at Fort Pitt.

An. 1763. that the most barbarous and most determined of the Indian chiefs had been cut off in the late action.

Treaty
with the
Indians.

Towards Niagara the danger to the English was still more threatening. No fewer than a body of five hundred savages, which is reckoned a numerous Indian army, assembled near the carrying-place there, where they surrounded two companies of English, and killed seventy-two men, besides officers and serjeants. While the war was thus raging in the remoter parts of the colony, Sir William Johnson applied himself with the most indefatigable zeal in opening a congress at the German Flats, with the Six Nations, and the Indians of Cagnawaga, in Canada. On the 7th of September those conferences began; and the heads of the savages expressed their concern at the obstinacy of their Seneca brethren, who could not be persuaded to give Sir William the meeting, and, at the same time, shewed all the dispositions he could desire for cultivating a friendship and dependence upon the English. The government of England, at this time, omitted nothing that could restore tranquility to the continent of America. On the 7th of October a proclamation was published in London, for erecting four separate governments there, by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada*. By this proclamation, that the fishery on
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* First, The government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John; and from thence, by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St.





the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands might be extended, all that coast, from the river St. John to Hudson's Streights, with the islands of Anticosti and Magdelaine, and the adjacent islands on the same coast, were committed to the care and inspection of the governor of Newfoundland, as were the islands of St. John and Cape Breton to the governor of Nova Scotia. All the lands lying

St. John, to the south end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence, and the Lake Champlain, in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, to Cape Rosieres, and from thence, crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, by the west end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John.

Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the Gulph of Mexico, and the Apalachicola river; to the northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river, where the Catabouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Ma-

ry's river, and by the course of the said river, to the Atlantic ocean; and to the east and south by the Atlantic ocean and the Gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to lake Pontchartrain; to the westward by the said lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catabouchee; and to the eastward by the said river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

An. 1763. between the rivers Alatomaha and St. Mary's were annexed to the province of Georgia. The new governors were empowered and directed, with the advice and consent of the members of the council, to call assemblies, in the same manner as other American governors do for the regulation of their provinces. Power was granted to the three new governors upon the continent to give the inhabitants living under them the necessary securities for the protection of their possessions, on the payment of such moderate quit-rents, services, and acknowledgments as were common to other colonies.

Proclamation for the encouragement of reduced officers and soldiers.

A provision was made in the same proclamation for the encouragement of such reduced officers as served in America, during the late war, and to the private soldiers disbanded there. Every field-officer was to have five thousand acres, every captain three thousand, every subaltern, or staff-officer, two thousand, every non-commissioned officer two hundred, and every private man fifty acres. This encouragement was to extend to such of the reduced officers in the navy of like rank as served on board British ships of war in North America, at the time Louisburgh and Quebec were reduced. The strictest provisions were then made for the security of the native Indians in the possession of their hunting and other grounds allotted for their support; and all British subjects who had encroached upon them, were ordered to remove. From this wise provision it was evident that his majesty distinguished between the rights of sovereignty and those of property, by excluding his governors from any manner of jurisdiction over those lands which were
not

not specified within the limits of their provinces. Even private subjects of England were prohibited from purchasing any lands from the Indians ; but if the latter were inclined to dispose of any such lands, it must be done in an assembly of the Indians, held by a British governor. Lastly, every Indian trader was to take out a licence from the respective governors for carrying on commerce with the Indians.

Though the wisdom, and, indeed, the necessity, of those regulations, were evident, at the first sight, yet they did not fail to raise an outcry against the government, as if the most valuable part of the English acquisitions on the continent had been left in the hands of the savages, by which the French would always have it in their power to renew their treacherous intrigues and practices ; and the Indian war which broke out soon after the conclusion of the peace, seemed to give too much colour for such allegations. But when the measure is rightly considered, it is rather a regulation, than a relinquishment, of territory ; for, in fact, all the lands reserved for the Indians, and, indeed, all the conquests made by the English during the course of the late war, were comprehended in former grants and charters, which had no other boundaries to the westward but the South Sea. From this there arose a necessity for adjusting the limits of the several governments with greater precision, but still without any prejudice to the British rights of sovereignty over those lands, and which may require still farther regulations, as the natives become more civilized,

An. 1763. lized, and better acquainted with their own interests.

The government of Quebec was given to the honourable James Murray, Esq. who had deserved it by the courage he had exerted in the conquest, and the conduct he had observed in the preservation, of that important province. James Grant, Esq. obtained the government of East, as George Johnston, Esq. did that of West Florida, and Robert Melvill, Esq. had that of Grenada conferred on him. Those appointments were, by all men of candour and judgment, thought to be justly due to the merits and services of the gentlemen to whom they were allotted; each of whom had particularly distinguished himself in the reduction of the province over which he was appointed governor; but the tools of opposition loaded the government with the most illiberal abuse, without assigning any other reason than that the gentlemen thus distinguished were all of them natives of Scotland, though in other respects they were allowed by calumny itself to be unexceptionable, both in their civil and military capacities. The public had soon an opportunity of doing justice to the merits of Mr. Murray.

History of
the muti-
ny at
Quebec.

General Amherst, the British commander in chief in America, in consequence of certain powers he had received from England, stopt four pence for every ration of provisions issued to the troops under his command. The evening that this order was intimated to the soldiers in garrison, they assembled, but without their arms, and paraded be-

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fore

fore the governor's house. This alarming appearance caused some of the merchants of the place to reproach them with their behaviour; but they were treated with contempt, and pelted with stones. Some of the officers interfered, and drew their swords; upon which the soldiers ran to their barracks, and putting themselves under arms, marched in order, with drums beating, to St. John's gate. They had, by this time, chosen a commander of their own number, and had even dismissed their serjeants and corporals. They declared they would injure none of the inhabitants; but that as it was impossible for them to subsist upon their pay without their provisions, they were determined to march by Montreal to New-York, that they might obtain redress from general Amherst. The moderation with which the mutineers proceeded rendered the governor's situation the more critical, as it shewed that they had formed a plan which they were determined to follow. He was returning from visiting some posts of the garrison, attended by a few officers and serjeants, when he met the mutineers in their march, preceded by two pieces of cannon. It required an equal degree of prudence and resolution to act properly on such an occasion; for when he and his attendants endeavoured to stop them, some of the most hot-headed of the mutineers discharged their pieces, but without doing any execution, declaring at the same time, that they would hear nothing to divert them from their resolution; and even striking some of the officers who opposed them by force. The men,

AN. 1763. in general, behaved with far more temper; they professed the greatest love and esteem for their general and their officers, but repeated their grievance, and appeared determined to proceed on their march.

During this parley, the governor had been joined by all the officers in the garrison; and lieutenant Mills, the town major, had taken care to shut the gates of the town. The night being very dark, this exposed the inhabitants to be plundered, if the men should disperse within the walls. At last the governor, seconded by his officers, prevailed with them to march back to the grand parade, where he addressed them file by file; but they still seemed to persist in their resolution not to serve without provisions, and all he could do was to persuade them to march to their barracks, till he could have an opportunity to represent their grievances to the commander in chief. When they complied with this request, they repeated their protestations of loyalty and personal esteem for their officers; but seemed as determined as ever to execute their purpose. Next day they mounted guard as usual, in good order, while general Murray took that opportunity of assembling together the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. To them he represented the danger of a mutiny in the strongest British garrison in America, an example which, undoubtedly, would be followed by all the troops on that continent; and that, for his own part, he was resolved either to reduce the men to their duty, or to perish in the attempt. After consultation, it was agreed, that the mildest measures should be used,

used, and accordingly all that and part of the succeeding day was spent by the officers in endeavouring to reduce the men to their duty, tho' without any visible effect.

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The general now thought it was high time to bring this dangerous affair to a crisis by a decisive effort. In the evening of the 20th, the governor, after harranguing each battalion separately, in an affecting but manly manner, ordered all the garrison to be under arms next day on the grand parade. They obeyed, and the good effects of his remonstrances soon appeared. He himself read to them the articles of war, repeated his representations on their enormous conduct, and declared, that he was resolved, by the assistance of his officers, either to reduce them to their duty, or to die by their hands. He then posted himself at the head of Amherst's grenadiers, with an air that bespoke him determined to put the first man to death who should refuse to obey him; and ordered them, in token of their compliance, to march between two royal colours planted for that purpose. The grenadiers obeyed, the rest of the garrison followed their example, while all of them expressed sorrow for their past behaviour; upon which the governor restored them to their colours, and expressed his satisfaction in their having recovered their characters as good soldiers. This affair being transmitted to England, it was found, upon enquiry, that matters had been misrepresented to the government, who were induced to believe, that the allowances might have been deducted without injuring the garrison of Quebec. Other garrisons in North America,

Which is
quelled by
governor
Murray.

who

An. 1763. who were not under the same disadvantages, submitted to the regulation. Such was the state of affairs in America at the close of the year 1763; and we shall now attend those of another government dependent on Great Britain, we mean Ireland.

Insurrec-
tions in
Ireland,

That nation was never known to express greater satisfaction under any administration than under that of the earl of Northumberland; but before his arrival there the riotous proceedings continued among such of the common people as called themselves Levellers, or Oak-boys, and were said to have been but too much privately encouraged by people of fortune, who had very dangerous views, which some of them concealed under an apparent zeal for the independency of Ireland, and the relief of the poor, loaded, as they pretended, with taxes that were lavished upon English favourites. The lords justices had omitted no measure either of prudence or force to suppress these disorders, and some blood had been shed in different parts of the country, especially towards the North, where many of the rioters were seized upon and imprisoned by the regular forces; but the gentlemen of the country seem, from mistaken principles of lenity, not to have sufficiently exerted themselves in the beginning of the disorders, which grew by the concessions that were made to the rioters with regard to the roads they complained of. Being gratified in their demands on that head, they declared against the clergy's smaller tythes and church dues, and even went to the houses of several clergymen, whom they obliged to swear not to insist upon such demands. As most of the Protestants in the North of Ireland are
Pres-

Presbyterians, they were suspected of being the principal promoters of those disturbances ; and the lords justices thought proper to issue a proclamation, promising safety and indemnity to such as should return to their habitations and industry. By this wise measure tranquility was restored in the country, but more dangerous disorders were apprehended in Dublin.

The weavers there took umbrage at one Mr. Cottingham, a considerable manufacturer, for having imported French silks, to the ruin, as the common people thought, of Ireland. Some thousands of them assembled on the 8th and 9th of August, and hoisting a black flag, with the words inscribed, O POOR IRELAND, they repulsed, with the loss of some lives on both sides, a party of soldiers sent to suppress them. Upon enquiry, it was found, that Mr. Cottingham had indeed imported a few pieces of silk from France, because he could not otherwise purchase their patterns to copy ; a manufacture which he had pursued for many years, to the great emolument of the nation, by keeping within it vast sums of money that must have been sent to France for silks of the same patterns. Before this matter could be properly explained, the mob broke into Mr. Cottingham's and other shops, where they destroyed the work to a considerable value, and committed many other disorders ; nor could they be quieted till Cottingham promised he would import no more silks, and even gave bond for that purpose to the rioters, who behaved on this occasion with most astonishing intrepidity against the regular troops.

and of the
Dublin
weavers.

On

An. 1763.
Proceed-
ings in the
Irish par-
liament
about
pensions.

On the 20th of October the earl of Northumberland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived at Dublin, where great pains had been taken to exasperate the public of all degrees against the large sums of money that had been granted in pensions on that establishment. A list of those pensions was obtained, specifying the particular persons to whom they had been granted ; and it appeared that, exclusive of the military establishment, and the pensions granted to French people, they amounted annually to the sum of 72002 l. those of the military establishment to 2400 l. and the sum granted to French pensioners, who had been upon the establishment ever since the death of George the First, to 920 l. 17 s. It was alledged that these pensions had been doubled since the year 1756, and that a considerable part of the sum total had been imposed since the accession of his present majesty. Great pains were taken to prove that the unalienable revenues of the crown, and the temporary as well as the hereditary duties of Ireland, were legally applicable to public purposes only. That the three branches of the Irish revenue, the prisage on wines, lighthouse duties, and the casual revenue, the only funds from which pensions can be legally issued, do not amount to 15,000 l. (probably not to 7000 l.) a year ; and, upon the whole, it was reasonable that all those illegal pensions should be recalled.

As neither the ministry in England or Ireland thought proper to publish any authentic refutation of these charges, they passed as acknowledged, when the parliament met at Dublin on the 11th of October, and was opened by an excellent speech from the

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Motions
rejected.

the lord-lieutenant, taking notice of the late riotous proceedings, recommending the support of the Protestant charter-schools, and of the linnen manufacture. After they had gone through the usual forms of addresses and other business, they moved for an address to his majesty, to give orders to his attorney-general to bring a writ of scire facias, to enquire into the legality of the patent by which the office of chancellor of the exchequer of that kingdom was then held. Though this motion was in effect lost by the consideration of its being put off to a long day, yet the house proceeded to other business, which shewed them to be by no means insensible of what they conceived to be their grievances, particularly with regard to the pensions we have mentioned. One of 1000 l. a year had been granted to George Charles, Esq. on the 15th of the preceding July, for the term of thirty-one years, in trust, (it was alledged), for the Sardinian minister, as a reward for his negotiating the late treaty of peace with France and Spain; therefore a motion was made for an address to his majesty to recall it, which passed in the negative. Other general motions against the grants of pensions were likewise made, but miscarried.

This did not discourage Mr. Perry, a leading member of the commons, from moving for an address to his majesty, expressing, that their pleasing hopes of the national debt being reduced, and the people eased of their heavy taxes, were "blasted by the unexpected requisition of supplies to support a civil establishment, loaded with a long train of pensions, the amount of which, exclusive of the

French

An. 1763: French and military, exceeded the expence of all the other branches of the civil establishment, in the sum of 42,627 l. 19s. 2d. many of which were publicly bought and sold in the market. That the number of officers upon the military establishment was increased, not only far beyond what it ever was in time of peace, but even beyond what it was in the time of the most dangerous war; and would, under any reign but that of his majesty, raise just apprehensions for the constitution not only of this kingdom, but of Great Britain. That, instead of six regiments of dragoons, and twenty-six of foot, the most ever seen in this kingdom, there are now eight regiments of dragoons and thirty of foot, besides the four old regiments of horse. That the expence of general officers is raised from 32,000 l. in two years, to 45,000 l. though there was not a sufficient number of them in this kingdom to attend the last reduction of the forces. That the expence of the ordnance is swelled from 10,600 l. in two years, to 45,700 l. independent of its extraordinary charges, which are very considerable; tho' the whole artillery of this kingdom is not equal to the ordnance of one of his majesty's ships of war of thirty guns. That every other branch of the military and civil establishments are advanced nearly in the same proportion."

The rest of this address is filled with the like plaintive matter. The patrons of it pretended, that, in two years, the military establishment amounted to the sum of nine hundred and eighty thousand three hundred and fifty-five pounds nineteen shillings. "The civil establishment to two hun-

hundred and forty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-six pounds ten shillings and nine pence; to which must be added, at the most moderate computation, three hundred thousand pounds, for the extraordinary and contingent expences of government. So that, (continued the proposed address) the expence of the nation for these two years must exceed its whole revenue in a sum of three hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds nine shillings and nine pence; which deficiency being added to the national debt, must leave this kingdom, at the next meeting of parliament, near one million in debt." The address concluded with a request, that the circumstances of the Irish might be laid before his majesty, whose wisdom, justice, and humanity, would not permit the utter ruin of a dutiful, loyal, and affectionate people. It was plainly seen that this inflammatory, but plausible, address had a most dangerous tendency; and therefore the motion for it passed in the negative, greatly to the satisfaction of all who wished well to the two kingdoms. The debates on this occasion were keen, and, in some cases, personal; but the advocates for the government carried their point by unanswerably proving, that, as Ireland had, in no perceptible degree, been burdened with the expences of the late war, that had cost so many millions to Great Britain, a great part of which had been laid out for the protection of the Irish territory and commerce; and as, from the encouragement she received from England, she was then in a flourishing and respectable condition; it was therefore just, that, in time of peace, she should contribute

Debates
upon the
above ad-
drefs.

An. 1763. bute towards the relief of her protectors. This argument carried with it unanswerable weight, and encouraged the friends of the government to try their strength with the furious Irish zealots, who seemed to aim at nothing less than a breach between the two nations.

Address
from the
commons
of Ireland
express-
ing their
abhor-
rence of
libels.

Accordingly, on the 20th of December, a motion was made in the house of commons to address the king, "by making the most solemn and public declarations of their inviolable duty and attachment to his majesty, when the most infamous and flagitious libels had been published and circulated throughout his kingdoms, filled with the grossest insults to his majesty's sacred person and royal authority, violating every rule of decency, order, and government; and tending to stir up, through all ranks of his majesty's subjects, a spirit of discontent, and disobedience to their prince, the laws, and the constitution." This address was strongly opposed, and the Irish patriots, as they affected to be called, moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned till the first Monday after the Christmas recess. This motion passing in the negative, another was made for inserting in the address the following words: "And at the same time to express our general satisfaction and joy, at seeing the principles of liberty vindicated and maintained, and the rights of the subject protected from the invasion of power, by the just determination and spirited conduct of one of his majesty's judges, and of an English jury." This most absurd motion, which consisted of a series of falsehoods, was deservedly rejected. Another motion was made for ex-
punging

An. 1763.

punging out of the said address the following expressions: "That we are truly thankful to his majesty for the honourable and advantageous peace which his majesty, through his great wisdom and paternal concern for his subjects, hath happily concluded for the benefit of his kingdoms." This motion likewise passing in the negative, a very warm and loyal address, in which the peers concurred, came over to England, and was published in the Gazette, to the great disappointment of the opposition.

The rest of the session in Ireland was very tranquil, and the lord-lieutenant left that kingdom with the greatest popular applause. During the course of this year, most of the trading cities in Germany were greatly affected by a course of bankruptcies, which began at Amsterdam, by the failure of two brothers called Neufville, for above 330,000 l. and a Jew, who broke for near 40,000 l. Eighteen houses at Amsterdam stopped payment, as did a much greater number at Hamburgh. The worst of consequences both to public and private credit, was threatened by this spreading calamity, when the Lombard houses of Amsterdam and Hamburgh, and the authority of the civil magistrates, interposed. The former advanced large sums of ready money to all who could give any feasible security, and the latter protected from arrests all such merchants as were willing to suffer their books to be inspected, or could give a satisfactory account of their trade. His Prussian majesty, above all, exerted himself in securing from their creditors the effects of his subjects which were deposited at Ham-

Bank-
ruptcies
in Eu-
rope.

An. 1763. burgh. In the mean while it was remarkable, that the credit of the English merchants, at London especially, received but a very inconsiderable shock on this occasion. It was plain that the origin of the calamity was owing to the scandalous practices of the German princes themselves, who had debased their coin to an incredible degree, during the late war. Add to this, that the exorbitancies of agents and commissaries, especially the Jews and Germans, had created a sort of an imaginary credit, which failed them, when the court of England refused to answer their extravagant demands without examination. A calamity of a different kind affected trade about the same time, in a very distant quarter. On the 6th of August a most dreadful fire broke out and raged for twenty-six hours in that part of Smyrna which is called the Franc Quarter, and in which are situated the English, French, Dutch, Venetian, Imperial, Swedish, Danish, and Ragusan factories. The flames raged so fiercely, that the houses of all those merchants were burnt down, the residence of the English consul excepted, and even that was damaged. The magazines, which had been before looked on as fire-proof, burst, through the violence of the conflagration, and the damage, upon the whole, was computed to exceed 200,000 l. Great complaints were made of the behaviour of the Turkish officers, during the fire, which was such as rather served to spread, than to abate, the flames; and this being known at Constantinople, all the Christian ministers there joined in a remonstrance against those monsters; which, however, produced but very little effect.

Account
of the
great fire
at Smyrna.

A spirit

A spirit of industry, at this time, seems to have succeeded that of war all over Europe. The society of noblemen and gentlemen for promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce, though destitute of all public support, consisted of above two thousand five hundred members; by which they raised an annual fund, sufficient to encourage the highest enterprizes and improvements for the good of the nation. The progress they made in the ends of their institution was such as must do honour to their memory through all succeeding ages, as their institution is, perhaps, the most public-spirited that ever was formed. This ardour for useful improvements soon spread itself to Edinburgh and Dublin, where societies were planned on the like noble principles with that of London; and the French, the Danes, the Dutch, the Swedes, some of the states of Italy, Switzerland particularly, followed the same example. The French king opened a free trade for grain through all his dominions, great encouragement was given to tillage and agriculture all over that kingdom, where the former laws, oppressive to trade, were abrogated. A new taxation took place, by which imposts were laid on more equally; and a new account of all the freeholds of the kingdom was ordered to be taken, for the better regulation of the revenue. Soon after this an ordonnance was published at Paris, which rendered it lawful for the parents of young men of family, who were guilty of crimes that might bring trouble and disgrace upon themselves and their relations, without being punishable by law, to apply to the secretaries of state for leave to

An. 1763.
The public spirit
of the
English,

imitated
by the
French
and other
nations.

An. 1763. transport them to the island of Desirade. There, they were to be delivered to the commandant, who was to station them in a fruitful healthy part of the island, to lodge them in cabbins, to feed them no better than common soldiers, but to furnish them gratis with instruments for tilling the earth, and seed to sow it; the produce to become their own property. They were to have new cloathing every year, and, in case of sickness, to be received as soldiers into the hospital. Upon their commandant making a favourable report of them to the secretary at war, he was to inform their parents and relations of their amendment; but if it was discovered that the latter found their account in keeping the young men abroad, they were to be assisted in recovering their estates, and permitted to return to France, to take care of their affairs. We have been the more explicit in our account of this regulation, as it may admit of various improvements for the benefit of Great Britain; though no English subject could wish to see it take place here, merely by the authority of a king and ministry.

Profligacy of the common people of England.

In proportion as public spirit seemed to gain ground among the better sort in England, the common people were infected with the utmost degeneracy of manners. The commission of rapes, robberies, and murders, continued to be as frequent as ever, and the many examples of punishment produced little or no amendment; neither had the prodigious storms and inundations that happened through the course of the year any effect, though severely felt by individuals, who were generously relieved by public contributions. At Maidstone, in

in Kent, and at Croydon, in Surry, no fewer than eighteen persons were capitally convicted for atrocious crimes. Fifteen received sentence of death at the assizes for the county of Devon ; at Winchester fourteen, and the numbers were proportionable thro' the other assizes of the kingdom ; and the executions were sometimes attended with melancholy consequences. On the second of October a most violent storm arose in Ireland, by which many lives were lost, and seventy persons perished by the falling of a bridge. The passengers in a ship going from Chester to Dublin being far too numerous for their scanty provisions, were reduced to a distress that was almost as incredible as their escape. The infamous practice of taking in more passengers than could subsist upon the stores provided, had been severely felt, when any accident happened to retard a voyage ; and no sooner did the parliament of Ireland meet, than they passed an act, by which the masters of all ships coming to, or going out of, the Irish ports, were obliged, under severe penalties, to man, victual, and otherwise provide themselves, in proportion to the length of the voyage, and number of passengers, with proper allowance for accidents of any kind. The earl of Northumberland, lord-lieutenant, exerted himself at the same time, for the relief of the inland sufferers by the storms and inundations, in the noblest and most effectual manner ; for besides the assistance he gave them as lord-lieutenant, he presented them with one thousand pounds out of his private purse.

An. 1763.
Settle-
ment of
East and
West Flo-
rida.

On the 21st of November the commissioners for trade and plantations gave public notice, That all the lands in the provinces of East and West Florida should be surveyed and laid out into townships, not exceeding twenty thousand acres each. Those townships, or any proportions of them, were to be granted to persons who were willing to enter into reasonable engagements to settle the lands within a limited time, and at their own expence, with a proper number of useful, industrious, Protestant inhabitants, upon the same moderate conditions of quit-rent and cultivation as are required in other colonies. The soil of those lands was adapted to the raising of silk, cotton, wine, oil, indico, cochineal, with the like commodities; and, notwithstanding all the reports that had been propagated to their disadvantage, a vast number of families complied with the terms of the offer, and those provinces now bid fair to be among the most flourishing belonging to the British dominions.

Destruc-
tion of
the ma-
gazine at
Jamaica.

While matters were so successfully concerting for the prosperity of our new acquisitions, a most dreadful accident happened in the island of Jamaica, where the powder-magazine of Augusta, the best fortress in that island, blew up by lightning with so much violence, that not a stone of the foundation could be observed on the place, which was so hollowed, as to form a large pond, upwards of twenty feet in depth, fifty in breadth, and one hundred in length. All the buildings in the fortress were shattered or rent in pieces, and about thirty white people, among whom were several officers and



CHARLES
HEREDITARY PRINCE of BRUNSWICK &c.

and one lady, and eleven Negroes, were killed by the explosion ; while some were wounded at the distance of a mile from the place where it happened. On the first of December following a fresh storm of wind and rain ravaged all the sea-coasts of Great Britain and Ireland with incredible violence ; and the Hanover packet boat, from Lisbon, with seventeen thousand pounds in money, was lost in the north channel, off Padstow, with sixty of the crew and passengers, two men and a boy only escaping.

The wise measures taken by his majesty for ridding the nation of its ruinous connections with the continent, without violating his engagements, were considered by the opposition as so many mortal blows to their interest ; and nothing was left unattempted by them and their foreign friends to shake, if possible, the tranquility of the nation on that account. The most shameful practices were devised, and the most scandalous falsehoods propagated by the agents of a power which severely felt the withdrawing of the British subsidies. Notwithstanding this, his majesty's system still continued firm both in Germany and in England. Of all the princes that Great Britain had been connected with during the late war, the hereditary prince of Brunswick was, by far, the most popular in the kingdom. He had, on all occasions, exposed his person as freely as the meanest subaltern in the army ; and always expressed the highest regard for the British troops, to whom he never failed to give the preference. His father's dominions had suffered but inconsiderably in the late war ; and he was looked upon as one of the richest princes in Germany. So

Marriage
of the hereditary
prince of Brunswick
with the
princess
Augusta
of England.

- An.1763. happy a concurrence of circumstances had long pointed out the hereditary prince as a proper match for her royal highness the princess Augusta, eldest sister to his majesty. It was believed that great interest was made in Germany to prevent the match from taking place; and it is certain that, in June, his Prussian majesty received a visit at Wesel from the hereditary prince, who was at Aix la Chapelle for the cure of his wound. The fitness of the match on both sides was so evident, that nothing could divert it; and his majesty communicated the same to the British house of commons, which, on the second of December, went up to St. James's, with their address of thanks on the
- An.1764. communication. On the 12th of January following his most serene highness landed from the Princess Augusta yacht, and arriving in London, Somerset-house was appointed for the place of his residence. His reception from his majesty and the royal family was highly affectionate; and on the 16th the nuptials were celebrated in the most splendid manner, though none but peers and peeresses, peers eldest sons and peers daughters, privy counsellors, their wives, and foreign ministers, were admitted. After passing some days in festivities, and visiting the principal places of note in and about London, his serene highness paid visits to many of the nobility who had distinguished themselves in support of continental measures, and in particular, he visited (but incognito) Mr. Pitt, at his country seat. Various constructions were put on this visit by both parties; but the impartial part of the public thought it was no more than a natural re-
- He visits
Mr. Pitt.

turn of gratitude ; and it was known his Prussian majesty had obtained a promise from his serene highness, that he should, in person, express his esteem for the illustrious commoner, an epithet by which Mr. Pitt's friends now affected to particularize him. The city of London distinguished itself by an address to his majesty on the occasion, penned in an unusual strain; for they expressed "their joy and satisfaction at seeing his majesty's wisdom yield to the proposals for an alliance with a Protestant family, and with a prince whose eminent and distinguished services, during a glorious and successful war, will ever be remembered by every friend of true religion and liberty." They next congratulated his majesty "on their seeing the constitution of this country, which had been settled and established by our great deliverer king William, maintained and improved by the illustrious house of Brunswick."

The expressions in the addresses they presented to their royal and serene highnesses were to the same purpose, but tended, in the main, to revive in the minds of the public, the sentiments which that important body had expressed in their behaviour and conduct some years before. A few days after, a bill was passed by his majesty in the house of peers, after being carried thro' both houses with unusual dispatch, for naturalizing his serene highness; and that very afternoon he and his royal consort, attended by the princes William-Henry and Henry-Frederic, set out for Harwich, on their return to Germany. It was thought that the presents made by the royal family to the princess, exclusive of 80,000 l.

voted

An. 1764.

Address
of the city of London upon the marriage.

Sudden departure of the prince and princess for Germany.

An. 1764. voted by parliament for her marriage portion, amounted to above 100,000 l. Their sudden departure created many speculations among the busy part of the world, and certain very indecent reports, with regard to the light in which his highness stood at court, where he had received many proofs of the most endearing affection and exalted friendship. Though the history of this illustrious marriage has been necessarily carried into the year 1764, yet we cannot close the history of the preceding year without giving some account of an important but melancholy transaction, which stands unconnected with any other.

History of
the fatal
expedition
of the
Lord
Clive and
Ambuscade
privateers.

Upon the breaking out of the war with Spain, some private merchants and adventurers fitted out two ships called the Lord Clive and the Ambuscade privateers. The former, being equal in force to a ship of fifty guns, was commanded by one captain M'Namara, who was esteemed as a brave experienced officer, and he was to be joined by other ships, particularly a Portuguese frigate, to proceed on an expedition to the South Seas. In December 1762, the whole squadron arrived in the river Plata, which they found much better prepared to receive them than they had imagined. After reconnoitring the river, it was resolved to attack the colony of San Sacrament, or Nova Colonia, which the Spaniards, some time before, had taken from the Portuguese. Though this was, by many, of the crew, considered as a desperate enterprize, yet the adventurers, having their whole fortunes at stake, and the expectation of the public being very high, the attack was resolved on. Nova Colonia

nia lies on the north side of the Plata, opposite to Buenos Ayres. It was more important for its situation than for its riches, as it lay the most convenient of all the South Sea Spanish settlements for acting against the Portuguese; and should it fall into the hands of the English, must be an effectual curb upon the Spaniards in that part of the globe. Besides the three ships already mentioned, the squadron was attended by some small armed vessels and store-ships; the complement of British sailors and soldiers on board being about five hundred, exclusive of the Portuguese. The expedition was originally planned for getting possession of Buenos Ayres; but finding the navigation of the river very difficult, they resolved, before they proceeded farther, to attack Nova Colonia; an English pilot, whom they found on board a Portuguese ship, undertaking to bring the commodore within pistol-shot of the chief battery on shore. On the 6th of January 1763, the Lord Clive made the signal for engaging, and soon after anchored under the fire of the eastmost battery of the place, while the Ambuscade was severely handled by the fire of the middle and westmost batteries, and from some Spanish frigates. As usual, in those cases, the plan of engagement was not exactly followed; and the Portuguese frigate, on which they had great dependence, anchored at such a distance, that none of her shot reached the shore. After several mistakes had been rectified, a most fierce cannonading began on both sides, which lasted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's fire, that had been before kept up very steadily,

An. 1764. steadily, began to flag, and they themselves to retire to the eastmost battery, as the place of greatest safety. In this state of the engagement, when the English expected every moment to see the Spanish colours struck, the Lord Clive was found to be on fire, by some accident which never has been accounted for. No sooner did the flames appear, than it was easy to perceive that it was impossible to extinguish them. In an instant the attack was discontinued: the Ambuscade, with vast difficulty, got clear of the other ship's flames, but was little better than a wreck, having received a great number of shot between wind and water, and none less than twenty-four pounders. As to the crew of the Lord Clive, some perished in the water, some in the flames, and many by the enemy's fire, which recommenced on the occasion. Some of the wounded, through despair and torture, dispatched themselves; and many, finding all hopes of escaping vain, ran to the lower guns, from whence they kept up a constant fire, till they were involved in the common calamity; so that no more than seventy-eight of three hundred and forty, the complement of the ship when the engagement began, escaped with their lives, the ship blowing up about eight in the evening.

The fate of the unhappy sufferers was the more affecting (and at the same time inevitable), as it would have been certain destruction for any of the other ships to have moved to their relief. The Ambuscade, in danger of sinking every moment, found means to stop her leaks in the river Plate, and to escape to the Portuguese settlement of Rio de

An. 1764.
Humanity of the Spaniards on the occasion.

de Janeiro, with the loss of twenty-four killed. Such of the Lord Clive's crew as reached the shore, were humanely received, treated, and clothed, by the Spaniards, whose resentment seemed to be extinguished in the calamity of their enemies. While captain Roberts, who commanded the Ambuscade, lay at Rio de Janeiro, the Portuguese received an account of the general pacification in Europe; but no such accounts arriving at the Spanish settlements, hostilities continued between them and the Portuguese, some of whose vessels and troops captain Roberts undertook to convoy to the island of Catherine; and thus ended this unfortunate expedition.

State of affairs at the court of Great Britain.

The firmness with which his majesty continued to support the new arrangements of his administration, had been but little expected by those whom it affected. They had, on all occasions, given out that they were too powerful and too popular to be kept out of the management of affairs, to which the administration was greatly unequal; but, in the beginning of the year 1764, the government appeared too well settled to be shaken. Upon the death of the earl of Egremont, the earl of Sandwich, who had been first nominated ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the catholic king, and afterwards first commissioner of the admiralty, was appointed secretary of state, the earl of Egmont succeeding him as first commissioner of the admiralty; and the duke of Bedford earl Granville as lord-president of the privy-council, while his son-in-law the duke of Marlborough was made lord-privy-seal. The earl of Hills-

An. 1764. Hillsborough was placed at the head of the board of trade ; several new members were sworn into the privy-council : earl Gower was made lord-chamberlain of the household ; and all the inferior departments of business were filled up with noblemen or gentlemen of approved attachment to his majesty's person and government. It was not long before some misunderstandings of no consequence between the French and English commanders in America gave an opportunity for the opposition to renew their clamours against the peace ; but upon enquiry into the facts, it was found that the differences arose only from captain Douglas, a commander of a frigate, having, pursuant to his orders from England, obliged a French ship to keep within the bounds of navigation prescribed by treaty. The delay of payment of the Canada bills was another objection brought to the conduct of the government ; and a committee of the merchants concerned in that trade received fresh assurances from the secretary of state, that the most effectual instructions should be sent to the earl of Hertford, to press the payment of the money, which the court of France was willing to do, as soon as it was in its power.

Irish af-
fairs.

These expedients of the opposition failing, a very extraordinary application was made to the commonalty of the city of Dublin, in Ireland, the guild of the merchants, and the corporation of the barbers and surgeons, for distinguishing lord chief justice Pratt with some eminent marks of honour, as he had presided in the court which had given damages to Mr. Wilkes and the printers of the North-Briton against the secretaries and the messengers of state,

state, upon the late trials on general warrants. This affair was pushed with great warmth in Dublin, by the party which had lately failed in opposing the parliamentary address to the king against libellous writings. In a quarterly meeting of the guild of merchants, the granting the freedom to his lordship was proposed in a most unprecedented manner, as it had been always customary for that body to name the person that is to be honoured with the freedom at a previous meeting; and, at a subsequent one, to receive or reject him. A considerable number of the merchants remonstrated in the meeting upon the imprudence and indecency of that body forcing themselves into a party which was disturbing and inflaming Great Britain. Strong objections were brought against the words in the resolution for granting the freedom, "As a testimony of the guild's sense of his lordship's fidelity to his majesty, at seeing the principles of liberty vindicated and maintained, and the rights of the subject protected, by the just determination, and spirited conduct, of his lordship," which seemed to be a kind of imputation of infidelity upon others; and was pronouncing a fixed, determined, absolute judgment upon questions in law, which were still litigated and undetermined: and assuming a privilege and right which belonged only and exclusively to the highest and most respectable tribunals in Great Britain. Nay, that it was, as far as their influence extended, and, for any thing they knew, anticipating the judgment of those tribunals, and inciting the minds of men to discontent and sedition; for, should the questions

An. 1764. questions still in dispute be determined, in the last resort, differently from what his lordship had decided them, then their solemn honorary act would not only appear absurd, but the minds of all those who should be influenced by this previous and anticipating judgment of theirs might remain soured, turbulent, and discontented at the laws, and the most perfect and constitutional decision of their meaning and force.

Debate
upon

It was farther urged, that such a resolution was premature, as neither the city of London nor any other city or borough corporate in Great Britain had set them the example: that it was dictatorial, because they thereby stepped forth to alarm the people, and to declare that the principles of liberty have been attacked, and the rights of the subject invaded; facts of which they presumed to be the judges, by bestowing their freedom as a reward for their defence and protection. It was insulting, because the commonalty of Dublin thereby interfered in an affair which belonged to a separate and a superior kingdom; an affair in which the Irish were not principals, and in which their taking the lead implied a tacit reproach upon the people of Great Britain, as if they were insensible of the danger which they had escaped thro' the seasonable firmness of that great magistrate, by neglecting to reward him according to his services. It was lastly alleged, that the proceeding was irregular, as it violated that law of the guild, which provided against its members being surprized into any act, by giving them time to examine it before-hand. Such were the arguments urged on the part of the lord mayor and

and aldermen of Dublin for their not passing the certificate upon which his lordship's freedom of the guild merchants, and the corporation of barbers and surgeons, was to be founded.

An. 1764.

Some warm commoners moved, that all ordinary business should be postponed till the lord mayor and board of aldermen should send their answer upon this head; but it was answered, That they had considered the petition for presenting the lord chief justice Pratt with the freedom of their city, but did not judge it proper, at that time, to agree to it. This answer set the commons in a flame; the administrations in both kingdoms were loaded with the most opprobrious abuse; and it was affirmed that, ever since the freedom of the guild had been voted to that great man, the tools of power had been indefatigable in preventing its taking place in the city: that among those tools were some men in the most sacred stations; and that the commons of Dublin could not be too vigorous in clearing themselves from the suspicion of all sinister intentions. They were then absurd enough to enter into a discussion of the abuse of general warrants in England, and into all the affair of Mr. Wilkes, with so much heat, that those who opposed the petition saw it was in vain to contend with men who rushed headlong upon such wild unwarrantable principles, and had nothing but passion and prejudice to advance against the most solid arguments. As to the petition, it might be termed an insult upon common sense, by making the cause of the opposition in Great Britain that of the commons of Dublin, and erecting that city into a kind of tribunal which was to be a

the freedom of Dublin given to lord chief justice Pratt,

An. 1764. directory to all the corporations of the British dominions. It mentioned, "That no man appeared to them to have acquitted himself in his high station with such becoming zeal for the honour and dignity of the crown, and the fulfilling his majesty's most gracious intentions for preserving the freedom and happiness of his subjects, such invincible fortitude in administering justice and law, as the Right Honourable Sir Charles Pratt, Knt. the present lord chief justice of his majesty's court of Common Pleas in England, has shewn in some late judicial determinations, which must be remembered, to his lordship's honour, while and wherever British liberties are held sacred." It then took notice, that the city of Dublin and kingdom of Ireland owed to lord chief justice Pratt the benefit of the act of the 31st of his late majesty, for better supplying that city with corn and flour; and concluded with praying, That the lord mayor and aldermen would present the said lord chief justice Pratt, the great assertor of the rights of king and people, with the freedom of their city in a gold box.

A motion being made in conformity to the prayer of this petition, the same was carried, and, as if they could not exceed in their adulations, they voted that the thanks of the sheriffs and commons in council assembled, should be presented to his lordship for the causes so often mentioned; and the said thanks were ordered to be communicated to his lordship, in a letter from the high sheriff of the city. It is to the honour of the moderate part of the magistracy and commons of Dublin, that, during the whole course of this affair, they, if possible, outdid their anta-

antagonists in the warm and just encomiums they bestowed upon his lordship, and confined themselves entirely to the motion and the manner in which it had been introduced. When those general arguments, therefore, did not take place, the voting the freedom of the city to his lordship passed without a negative.

without a negative.

The court of common-council in London did not yield in zeal to their Dublin brethren. At the very time that Mr. Wilkes was found guilty of republishing the North-Briton, No. 45. and the infamous Essay on Woman, that court ordered its thanks to be presented to the representatives of the city in parliament, for their zealous and spirited endeavours to assert the rights and liberties of the subject, "by their laudable attempt to obtain a seasonable and parliamentary declaration, That a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." And to express to them their warmest exhortations, that they steadily persevere in their duty to the crown, and use their utmost endeavours to secure the houses, papers, and persons, of the subject, from arbitrary and illegal violations. The same day the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council, having resolved that, "the independency and uprightness of judges is essential to the impartial administration of justice, and one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of the subject," the court voted, "that the freedom of the city be presented to lord chief justice Pratt; and that he be desired to sit for his picture, to be placed in Guild-

Proceedings of the common council of London,

An. 1764. hall, in gratitude for his honest and deliberate decision upon the validity of a warrant which had been frequently produced to, but, so far as appears to this court, never debated in the court of King's Bench, by which he hath eminently distinguished his duty to the king, his justice to the subject, and his knowledge of the law." Those zealous proceedings in the common-council of London were intended as a signal for the rest of the nation to follow their example, and met with a strong opposition. It was objected, that the members of the common-council, as such, had no right even to elect the city representatives, and far less to pay them a compliment at the expence of the majority of parliament, and even of the English constitution. It was observed, that the laws which had been passed by the king and parliament are the sole rules by which courts of justice ought to proceed; that by them, all offenders ought to be tried, and not by the censures or resolutions of a house of commons, which is no court of judicature, where offences not regarding their own privileges are not cognizable.

Animad-
versions
on these
proceed-
ings,

as being
unjust,

It was thought highly unjust and indecent for a court of common-council to apply the epithets SPIRITED and LAUDABLE to endeavours that were actually subversive of all public justice, when at that very instant suits were subsisting, and legal processes had been commenced against the earl of Halifax and Mr. Webb; and actions of trespass had been brought against the messengers for the several parts in which they had been concerned in seizing the papers and person of Mr. Wilkes. Had those

those endeavours been successful, and had a vote of the house of commons passed in consequence of them, it was observed, that such a vote must have been highly unconstitutional, as tending to influence and to intimidate not only the jury men but the judges themselves, before whom the causes were to be brought. It was therefore said, that the thanks of the court ought rather to have been voted to the members who thought those endeavours to be unconstitutional; that the laws of the land ought not to be influenced by any part of the legislature; and therefore had voted for an adjournment of the consideration concerning the illegality of the aforementioned warrants to a distant day.

The same court exhorting their representatives to use their utmost endeavours to secure the houses, papers, and persons of the subject from arbitrary and illegal violations, was deemed to be highly absurd, when it was notorious that one of those representatives had opposed a bill for establishing by law the illegality of the warrants objected to; and that the first lord-commissioner of the treasury distinguished himself in the debate for bringing in this bill, and shewed himself willing to agree with the gentlemen in the opposition on that head. It was urged that the consideration of the legality or illegality of the warrants by virtue of the exceptions that had been taken at Mr. Wood's trial (the under secretary of state) would come before the bench of judges. If that bench was unanimous in pronouncing them to be illegal, the end was answered, without having recourse to a new law; but if it should be divided, a law was proposed by the administration itself, for

and im-
proper.

An. 1764. rendering such warrants illegal ever after. Upon the whole, it was observed, that the question so much applauded by the address was only intended to serve a particular purpose ; and that those who supported it, were actually not in earnest in obtaining a remedy for the evils they had so pathetically bewailed, otherwise they never would have rejected the sanction of an act of parliament to prevent them for the future.

Replied
to.

To those observations, it was replied, That no regard was had to the objection brought by the friends of Mr. Wilkes against the house proceeding upon an enquiry into his offence, while he was under prosecution for it in the courts below, at the suit of the crown, and for the house delaying their judgment till the record office conviction should be brought up to it, which would have been a proper ground of their proceeding against him ; whereas by censuring him before such record could be obtained, the court and jury would be under an undue influence. To this it was answered, That the house of commons, in their proceeding against Mr. Wilkes, had done no more than explain a point of their own privileges, which had no concern with the common law ; that the lords had concurred with them in their proceedings ; that all possible indulgence had been given him, and that no rigorous step had been taken against him, till he had actually withdrawn himself from public justice of every kind ; and that the lords and commons had as much authority as any one chief of the law could have in determining the nature and extent of parliamentary privilege.

An. 1764.

It was urged by the defenders of the minority in support of the motion they had made, that Sir John Phillips, who was to have brought in the bill, was not in earnest; and that, as they held a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel to be illegal, they could not vote for a bill to regulate an illegality. To this it was replied, That they had no right to judge of any member's intentions before they found them to be inconsistent with his professions; and that the administration could not give a better test of their sincerity than by proposing a bill which was to declare those warrants to be illegal, even if they should be declared otherwise by a majority of the judges. We have been the more particular in recapitulating these matters, as the question concerning the motion made in the house of commons was revived with great acrimony by the minority on the above occasion, and supported by all the skill and abilities of the party. The motion for the address met with no material opposition in the common-council, and it answered the main end which its friends had in view. The lord chief justice, when waited upon by the chamberlain of London, accepted of the freedom, and condescended to sit for his picture. His lordship, at the same time, returned a verbal answer to the chamberlain for the compliments that had been paid him by "the most respectable body in this kingdom, after the two houses of parliament." This expression was shrewdly animadverted upon by some who thought that the two houses of convocation, the privy-council, and the body of merchants

Compliments
paid by
the common
council to
lord chief
justice
Pratt.

An. 1764. of London, are more respectable bodies than that of the common-council.

and by
the cham-
ber of Ex-
eter.

The chamber of Exeter was the first corporation who imitated the city of London in presenting its freedom to lord chief justice Pratt, "as an expression (to use their own words) of their profound veneration for his consummate abilities, and as a testimony of that gratitude which he hath merited at the hands of every ENGLISHMAN, by the unshaken courage and inflexible integrity, which he hath so signally displayed in the public administration of justice, and in maintaining and vindicating the private liberty and property of the subject, which makes so essential a part of the legal and constitutional rights of this free people." To this high compliment, which was transmitted to his lordship by the town-clerk, a most respectful answer was returned, and afterwards printed and industriously propagated all over the nation.

The pri-
vilege of
franking
abused,

Among the other public abuses which had long prevailed was that of members franking blank, and other, covers, which were to go free by the post to any part of Great Britain or Ireland. This practice had arisen to an incredible height, and had introduced most notorious frauds, to the prejudice of the revenue. The most obscure persons ventured upon counterfeiting the hands of the members, and selling the covers so franked in public, without the least fear of detection. No instance had been known of any conviction at common law for this species of fraud, and the examples of punishment attending it in either house of parliament were rare, and almost forgotten; so that the abuse gathered

gathered strength every day. Besides the two houses of parliament, the inferior clerks of the post and other offices pretended to a prescriptive right of franking, which extended even farther than that of the members of the legislature, who were confined to a certain weight. This office-privilege, which was attended with great emoluments, appeared to be more detrimental to the revenue than the parliamentary privilege itself; it was therefore necessary for a government, which valued itself upon oeconomy, to check those abuses, and to regulate the privilege.

When the matter came to be examined in the house of commons, it occasioned more difficulty than was at first apprehended; for though the vast increase of franking was detrimental to one branch of the revenue, it was of service to another, by the immense consumption of stamps which it occasioned: but this inconveniency was found at last to admit of a remedy. It was enacted, That from and after the 1st of May 1764, while the revenue of the post office shall continue to be carried to the aggregate fund, no letters or packets shall be exempted from postage but such as are sent to or from the king; or such as, not exceeding two ounces in weight, shall be signed on the outside by a member of either house, the whole of the superscription being his own writing, or such as shall be directed to him at his usual residence, or place where he shall then be, or at either house of parliament, all letters and packets to the lord high treasurer, or commissioners, and secretaries to the treasury; lord high admiral, commissioners, and secre-

but regulated by parliament.

An. 1764. secretaries to the admiralty ; principal secretaries of state, and their under secretaries ; commissioners for trade and plantations, or their secretary ; secretary at war, or his deputy ; lieutenant general, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, or their chief secretary, or secretary for the provinces of Ulster and Munster ; their secretary residing in Great Britain ; the under secretary, and first clerk in the office in Ireland of the chief secretary, and the first clerk in the office of the secretary for Ulster and Munster ; the post-master-general, or deputy for Scotland, Ireland, and America ; the secretary, or deputy of the post-master-general, farmer of the bye and cross-road letters ; surveyors of the post-office ; and letters and packets sent from any of the said officers, signed by them on the outside, and the whole superscription of their writing ; and letters and packets from the treasury, admiralty-office, office of the secretaries of state, plantation-office, war-office, general post office at London, chief offices at Edinburgh, Dublin, and America, indorsed for the king's service, and sealed with the seal of office, or of the principal officer in the department.

After some other official regulations, it is enacted, " That printed votes and proceedings in parliament, sent without covers, or in covers open at the sides, and only signed on the outside by a member, or directed to one, shall go free." Clerks in the offices of secretaries of state and the post-office were to have the same privileges, and upon the same terms, of franking the like papers ; but the post-master's officers were at liberty to search all pack-

ets without a cover, or a cover open at both ends, and if they found the same to contain any written matter, to charge it with the postage. To give the greater force to these regulations, it was made felony and transportation for seven years, for any person to forge a frank. The reader may form some judgment of the necessity of those regulations, when he is made acquainted that, while the bill was in dependence before the house of commons, the annual postage of free letters, at an average, amounted to 70,000 l. It was farther proved, that the profits accruing to the clerks of the post-office amounted to between 800 l. and 1700 l. a year to each.

An. 1764.

Profits of the clerks of the post-office.

Among the other plans for improving the revenue of the nation, and the value of its new acquisitions abroad, that of a proposal offered to his majesty by the right honourable the earl of Egmont, first lord of the admiralty, deserves to be mentioned with uncommon applause; though, (for what reason does not appear to the public,) it has not been carried into execution. That nobleman, in his memorial to the king, desired from his majesty a grant of the whole island of St. John's, in the gulph of St. Lawrence, to hold the same in fee of the crown for ever, as one entire county (which island is supposed and estimated to contain two millions of acres of land, be the same more or less) with all manner of rights, royalties, privileges, franchises, and appurtenances whatsoever, with all civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all manner of courts as in England, and with power to appoint or commission from time to time all manner of officers for the exercise of the said jurisdiction, and for ordering the government thereof. The civil

Account of the earl of Egmont's plan for settling the island of St. John, according to the ancient English constitution.

juris-

An. 1764. jurisdiction was to be separated from the military, and ministerially invested in the lord of the country, but effectually controuled by subsequent provisos, conducted with dignity, justice, lenity, and confidence of the people, by persons who will have a permanent and common interest in the prosperity of those over whom they are to preside, and a great stake at home to pledge for their good behaviour abroad, either to the people or the crown, without any expence to the public. The exercise of the civil jurisdiction was in no case whatever to vary from the common and stated law of England, and therefore the subjects on the said island were to be intitled to all the rights and privileges of British-subjects, only making allowance for the particular constitution of the island. In criminal cases no capital sentence was to be put into execution without the assent of the king, or his governor in Nova Scotia, excepting in cases of dangerous emergency to the quiet of the island; and in all acts of judicial proceedings above the value of 500 l. in which, appeals shall lie to the king and council in England. All officers were to be appointed or removed with the king's approbation, and the power of arms was to be regulated according to the antient and common law in England; that is, the earl, his sheriff, or deputy, was to call together the number of men which, by tenure and common soccage, were to be furnished for the defence of the said island. Upon the whole, this excellent memorial is a revival, with amendments, of the old feudal law in England, and seems to have been designed as a plan for the settlement of all the conquered countries in America. The country was to have been divided into
fifty

fifty hundreds, forty of which were to be granted out in tenure, by the earl, to forty capital lords, one to each, who were to hold the same in fee, as lords of the said hundreds, with an annual payment of twenty pounds sterling to the earl, with suit to the county courts, and the furnishing ten men, part of the number of 1200 allotted by tenure, each of which ten men were to be bound to furnish two more, for the completion of the said number. The remaining ten hundreds were to be reserved for the earl's demesne, of which he was to set out a district of 15,200 acres for the capital town, and principal place of trade in the island. The earl was to accomplish his tenure of finding 1200 men for the defence of the island, within ten years after its being so divided. The bounds of our history will not suffer us to enter into the more minute parts of this constitution.

In March a proclamation was issued for the sale of all his majesty's lands in the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. The purchasers were to pay 20 per cent. deposit, 10 per cent. in one year, 10 per cent. the next, and 20 per cent. every year after till the whole shall be paid. Every purchaser is to keep one white man, and two white women for every hundred acres cleared, or to pay twenty pounds for every white woman, or forty pounds for every white man wanting; and penalties were imposed upon those who did not clear the quantity of land required by the proclamation: but no person was to purchase more than three hundred acres of land in Dominica, or five hundred on the other islands.

Sale of the
new ac-
quired
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islands.

An. 1764. Six-pence an acre is to be paid as a quit-rent for cleared lands, and a penny a foot for ground-rent of tenements in towns, and six-pence an acre for fields. No person was to have but one town lot, which was to be accommodated with five acres of pasture land, and eight hundred acres in each parish are reserved for poor settlers, to be divided into lots of not less than ten, nor more than thirty, acres each, to be granted in fee-simple.

Account
of the dis-
pute for
the stew-
ardship of
Cam-
bridge.

The death of Philip earl of Hardwicke at this time, occasioned a vacancy of the high-stewardship of the university of Cambridge, which engaged the attention of the public far more than so trifling a consideration ought to have done. That learned body, during the late reign, had been remarkable for their attachment, and, as their enemies said, for their servility, to government; but, when their chancellor the duke of Newcastle lost his power in the administration, their ardour cooled, and the principles of many of the members received a remarkable change. His grace had rewarded the loyalty they professed, by bestowing upon them the most unbounded favours, and from that university the bench of bishops, and the best livings in the church of England, had been supplied. The government was fully sensible of its importance, and resolved to avail themselves of the juncture. The earl of Hardwicke stood a candidate to succeed his father in the stewardship, and was opposed by the earl of Sandwich, one of the principal secretaries of state. It was necessary that they should be separately put up; the earl of Hardwicke's turn was first, and the 30th of March was fixed for the election. A

hun-

An. 1764.

hundred and fourteen voters appeared in the senate-house, and the two proctors, who were of different parties, after rectifying some mistakes that had been made in their first accounts, declared that the numbers for and against his lordship were equal. This equality of votes, by the constitutions of the university, put a negative upon the earl of Hardwicke's election, and his friends insisted upon having another scrutiny, on account of the mistakes that had been made in taking the votes. The vice-chancellor, who acted as præses of the meeting, was of their opinion, but the other party refused to admit of another scrutiny, nor would their proctor collect the votes again; so that all the vice-chancellor could do was to order a notorial account of the whole transaction to be drawn up in the senate house. No sooner was it cleared of the masters of arts, the electors, than the younger part of the university, who were less interested in the event, testified their approbation of lord Hardwicke, by a mock-election in the same room, in which he was chosen their high-steward, with only three dissentient votes, and they afterwards expressed their disapprobation of his rival in a manner that bordered upon indecency.

The parliament still continued to sit, and the ministry to reject all solicitations for raising money by loans or lotteries. The national debt then amounted to 129,586,789 l. 10 s. 0 d. 1 q. and the annual interest money was 4,688,177 l. 11 s. of which the government proposed to pay in the year 1764, 2,771,867 l. 13 s. 6 d. Of this sum the German extraordinary expences amounted to
500,000 l.

Proceed-
ings of
parlia-
ment on
the national debt.

An. 1764. 500,000 l. the navy debt to 650,000 l. army extraordinary to 987,434 l. 15 s. 6d. the deficiencies of land and malt 300,000 l. to the landgrave of Hesse 50,000 l. deficiencies to sinking-fund 147,593 l. 18 s. deficiencies of grants for 1763, 129,489 l. advanced on addresses 7,350 l. The naval force of England was increased, 100,000 l. being employed in ship-building more than had been in any former period. The staff of the army was diminished, tho' that in America, with the forces and ordnance; were high. The miscellaneous articles of expence mounted to 295,354 l. 2 s. A debt of 1,800,000 l. in exchequer-bills were at an alarming discount; but 1,000,000 l. of them was transferred to the bank for two years, with the reduction of a fourth part of the interest, and new exchequer-bills were issued for the remaining 800,000 l*. This was not, indeed;

* So that the whole state of the supply was this:

			l.	s.	d.
Debt paid	—	—	2,771,167	13	6
Exchequer-bills	—	—	1,800,000	0	0
Establishment for the navy	—	—	1,443,568	11	9
Ditto army	—	—	1,509,313	14	0
Miscellaneous articles	—	—	295,353	0	0
			<hr/>		
			7,820,102	19	3

To raise this large necessary sum, the subject has not been oppressed with one additional tax. It has not encouraged the spirit of gaming, by accepting of a lottery, or taking to itself the not unpleasing power of disposing of tickets, commissions, and subscriptions.

indeed an absolute discharge of the debt, but the method of payment rendered it more easy. It was thought with some reason, that this vast discharge of the national debt upon terms so easy to the public, would have carried great merit with it; but the gentlemen in the opposition, both without and within doors, were industrious, and, indeed, successful, in

It has avoided going to market for money, at a time when, though it might have been advantageous to individuals, it must have been very detrimental to the public.

The ways and means are said to be these :

	l.	s.	d.
Land-tax and malt ——— ——— ———	2,750,000	0	0
Exchequer-bills taken by the Bank ——— ——— ———	1,000,000	0	0
New Exchequer-bills to be issued ——— ——— ———	800,000	0	0
Of the Bank, for the renewal of their contract ——— ——— ———	110,000	0	0
Savings ——— ——— ———	163,558	3	0
Militia money ——— ——— ———	150,000	0	0
Annuity fund, 1761 ——— ——— ———	3,497	9	9

To this account the government has brought to account what had long been accounted for.

The saving of non-effective men, which in the present year is ——— ——— ——— 140,000 0 0

To this the bounty of the king has added the produce of the French prizes taken before the declaration of war ——— ——— ———

The king has freed the public from the expence of all the new governments except that of the two Floridas.

And, to make up the deficiency, the government has taken, with peculiar propriety, the surplus of the sinking-fund, which in this year amount to ——— 2,000,000 0 0

So that the total of ways and means is ——— 7,817,055 12 9

Total of supply ——— ——— ——— 7,820,102 19 3

Numb. 47. X their

An. 1764. their endeavours to prove, that little or no thanks were due to the administration for their management of the finances, because the stocks had fallen. The thinking part of the nation, however, was soon sensible, that this fall was owing to the rapaciousness and avarice of certain persons who kept up their money in hopes that the distresses of the government would oblige the ministry to give an exorbitant price for supplies. An outcry was likewise raised on account of the debt that was not funded. To this it was answered, that it would be injurious to the nation to pass every account, or to give parliamentary security for every bill that was brought to the treasury, by way of public debt; that the immense demands for the war in Germany required the severest scrutiny before they were passed, and that it was highly reasonable to postpone them till they were examined.

Infurrection,

The accounts which were daily received from America gave a handle for continuing the outcry against the government, as if the administration in England had been accountable for all the barbarities committed there. That the French priests and Jesuits did not spirit up the Indians to hostilities against the English can scarcely be doubted; and it is certain that animosities among the English subjects themselves proceeded to a great height. The Conestaga Indians were the remains of a tribe of the Six Nations, settled at that place, within the limits of Pennsylvania, but they were reduced to a very small number. Their harmless hospitable behaviour towards the English could not, however,

protected

protect them from a massacre almost unheard of among Christians. A certain simplicity of behaviour had endeared them to the Quakers, by whom they were caressed, notwithstanding the many barbarous massacres committed by other Indians, on the frontiers of the province. Some resentful spirits associated themselves under the term of the Paxton Volunteers, and came to the inhuman resolution of putting those harmless Conecaga Indians to death. They alledged in defence of their barbarity, that near a thousand families had been driven from their habitations by the Indian incursions, and obliged to throw themselves upon the humanity of the inhabitants in the more inland parts of the province, who gave them but a very cold reception, though they shewed all imaginable tenderness to the Conecaga, and other, Indians. It was even alledged that they carried their kindness so far, as to relieve the savages who had been the most active against colonel Bouquet during the late war. Admitting all those allegations to be well founded, they could serve for no justification of the tragedy that ensued.

On the 14th of December 1763, fifty-seven of those Paxton Volunteers, having travelled all night, surrounded the Indian huts at Conecaga at break of day. No more than three men, two women, and a boy happened to be on the spot, who were immediately massacred, the rest of the tribe being abroad to dispose of the few commodities they were masters of among the English. After the massacre had been committed, the murderers set fire to the huts. When the Indians returned

and massacres in Pennsylvania.

An. 1764. to their habitations, the consternation, grief, and horror with which they beheld the murdered, half-burnt bodies of their relations, cannot be expressed. The magistrates of Lancaster county, where the tragedy was acted, gave them all the consolation in their power, and lodged them in their workhouse, as a place of safety, promising, at the same time, to protect them. The white people in the neighbourhood commiserated and bewailed their fate, and the governor of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation, requiring all magistrates and others to do their utmost in discovering and securing the murderers, and prohibiting all farther injuries to the Indians of the province. This had no effect upon the inhuman murderers. Hearing that about fourteen of the little tribe were still alive, fifty of the Paxton Volunteers, on the 27th of December, assembled, and marched to the workhouse, which they broke open, and entered it with looks that sufficiently denoted their bloody intentions. The poor wretches endeavoured to avert their fate by falling on their knees, holding forth their little ones to plead for compassion, and earnestly declaring their love for the English. All was ineffectual; every one of them was butchered on the spot; after which the monsters mounted their horses, and went off with loud huzzas, as if they had gained a victory. Those inhumanities were the more barbarous, as the murdered Indians had so intire an affection for the English, that, when they were warned of their danger, they refused to take any precaution for their own safety. Another proclamation was issued for discovering the murderers, but

but all was to no purpose. It soon appeared that a conspiracy had been formed so deep and strong against the unhappy savages, that the conspirators braved the government, and threatened destruction to any one who should attempt to bring them to justice. An. 1764.

The Paxton Volunteers made but a poor apology for those barbarities, by publishing a remonstrance, in which they petition'd their governor, that all Indians should be removed out of the province, and that public rewards should be proposed for their scalps, as being the most likely means for destroying or reducing them to reason, and that no trade should be carried on with them, till all the English in captivity were released. But we are now to attend the affairs of the continent of Europe, after a long interval, proceeding from the importance of the events that immediately affected England. Obstinacy of the insurgents.

Though the Austrian hereditary dominions had been exhausted of men during the late war, yet it is certain that the empire never was known to abound so much in gold and silver specie, as when it was finished. This was a lucky circumstance for the princes of that empire, who employed their several prerogatives in multiplying money, by adulterating the coinage; but however profitable it might be for them, it proved fatal to their subjects, because it ruined all their foreign credit. The queen of Hungary acknowledged that she had lost half a million of men during the war, and published edicts, offering lands to all who were inclined to settle in the bannat of Temeswar, Transylvania, and Hungary. Affairs of Europe.

Germa-ny.

An. 1764. gary, granting liberty of conscience to all Protestants who should reside in the two last mentioned countries. On the 10th of May, a separate act was published at Berlin, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, which gave rise to various speculations. At the time of the treaty of Hubertsburg, which was dated the 15th of February, 1763, the court of Vienna was so much out of humour with its allies, and the king of Prussia with his, that they were not included in that treaty. Both parties perceiving that this silent mark of dissatisfaction made no impression upon the powers concerned, and that the peace was cemented between France and Great Britain, they thought proper to publish this act, by which the French king, with the kings of Sweden and Poland, the princes and states of the empire, were included on the part of the empress-queen; and the king of Great Britain, the duke of Brunswic-Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse, on the part of Prussia; but the empress of Russia was included by both. About this time the court of Vienna had some thoughts of making a farther reduction of its troops, but the motions of the Turks, and the state of affairs in Poland, prevented it; and, instead of reducing, her imperial majesty augmented, her armies, but at the same time severely punished all the officers who had misbehaved in the late war.

During those transactions, an extraordinary incident happened in Germany, where the troops of Hesse-Darmstadt, on a disgust which they had received

ceived during the late war from the inhabitants of Wetzlar, an imperial city, entered it, and putting the magistrates under arrest, carried them off as hostages for their giving satisfaction to the prince. It was thought that this insult would have shaken the peace of Germany, especially as several other cities were equally liable to the same insults, for the same reason. The inhabitants sent a memorial of what had happened to the diet at Ratisbon, and likewise complained to the college of cities; but the affair was at last compromised by the prudence of the imperial court, without any farther bad consequences. Towards the close of the year 1763, the court of Rome gave an uncommon proof of its impartiality by its decision in the great appeal concerning the succession to the bishopric of Liege. The candidates were the count d'Outremont and prince Clement of Saxony. The former had a clear majority of voices in his favour, but the courts of Vienna and France interesting themselves strongly for prince Clement, the affair was carried to Rome, where the pope confirmed Outremont's election; and the election of the king of the Romans being then in agitation, that count was suffered to take quiet possession of the sovereignty. Their imperial majesties likewise prevented, with great prudence, a misunderstanding that was likely to arise between the chapter of Osnaburgh and his Britannic majesty, on account of the administration of that bishopric during the nonage of his son, whose turn it was to succeed to it by the treaty of Westphalia.

An. 1764.

The king of Prussia, the other great power of Germany, was equally assiduous in cultivating the public tranquility, and re peopling his dominions after the war. Upon his return to his capital, he was received as the guardian-angel of his country. He published an amnesty and general pardon to all his subjects whatever, excepting the baron War-kotsch, who had formed a plot to deliver him up to the queen of Hungary. By another proclamation he gave freedom to all the peasants of Silesia and Pomerania, who, till that time, were upon the same footing with the antient English villains, and were bought and sold with the estates; besides making many other regulations equally prudent and humane for the benefit of his subjects. After having given way to justice in the trial and punishment of his misbehaving officers, he set out on a progress through his dominions; and, having just touch'd at Hanover, he returned to Berlin. His court never was known to be so brilliant as at this time, and he affected an unusual magnificence in entertaining a Turkish ambassador who had been some time at Berlin. This created great speculation among the other powers of Europe; but it was soon understood that this politic prince meant no more than to make the house of Austria sensible that he had great interest at the Porte. When he visited Cleves, the states of his dominions upon the Rhine assembled, and, in consideration of the losses in the late war, he eased them of part of their taxes for two years. But, under all these appearances of tranquility and prosperity, his Prussian ma-
jesty

An. 1764.

jeſty could not hinder himſelf, from ſometimes expreſſing his reſentment at the manner in which his ſubſidy had been withdrawn by the court of London, and left no meaſure unattempted to make himſelf conſiderable in his Britannic majeſty's eyes. Sometimes he complained of the injuſtice that had been done him, and demanded the arrears that were due to him from Great Britain; but all demands of that kind were treated with ſilent contempt. Sometimes his miniſter who reſided in London formed connections with the party that was in oppoſition to the court, and endeavoured to embroil the proceedings of parliament; but finding all his endeavours unſucceſſful, and that his popularity daily declined, for reaſons that are foreign to this hiſtory, he obtained his recall.

The behaviour of the French court, and the good faith with which they fulfilled the terms of the late treaty, gave freſh diſquiet to the diſcontented of Great Britain, who had flattered themſelves, in the moſt ſanguine manner, that the French miniſtry would take advantage of the national diviſions, to infringe the articles in ſuch a manner as to found a charge againſt the miniſtry; but it was ſoon evident, that France had made a thorough alteration in her ſyſtem. Her court and that of Vienna, all of a ſudden, grew cold towards each other, and the empreſs-queen complained, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty had deviated from the plan of operations which had been concerted between them. The eleventh article of the definitive treaty ſtipulating, that Nattal and Tapanouilly, in the iſland of Sumatra, ſhould be delivered up to Great Britain, and they

France.

An. 1764. they being then in the hands of the Dutch, he ordered his minister at the Hague to require the states general to give immediate orders for delivering up those two places to the English. The same minister declared in his master's name, and the duke of Praslin did the same to the Dutch ambassador, "That the most christian king, from friendship to the republic, had permitted the free importation of herrings into his ports, by Dutch merchants; but that, in consequence of certain arrangements with England, his majesty revoked this grant." The Dutch were obliged to put up with these requisitions, which they by no means expected, and the French proceeded to prohibit the importation of all salt-fish by other nations into their kingdom. Notice of this was given not only to the Dutch, but to the Danes and the Swedes, intimating at the same time, that, as the prohibition was general to all nations, no particular people had a right to take it amiss. In June his most christian majesty ordered an account to be brought in of all the freeholds of his kingdom, that the taxes of his people might be more equally proportioned; and made many other salutary regulations.

Punishment of the French governors of Canada.

Notwithstanding his cares, the public debts were so heavy, that the relief which the French government was enabled to give the public was but inconsiderable. To make some amends for this, the people were gratified in their outcries for justice upon those who had the management of their affairs when they lost America to the English. Bigot, the intendant of Canada, was banished France for ever, and condemned to pay a fine of 4,500,000 livres.

livres. The rest of the offenders were punished and fined in proportion to their demerits ; and the whole sum raised by the enquiry amounted to 12,965,000 livres. This year was remarkable for the dreadful fires that happened in Paris, which burnt to the ground the palace-royal belonging to the duke of Orleans ; and in other parts of France whole towns and villages were consumed ; but even this calamity was not equal to that occasioned by the storms and inundations which desolated many parts of that kingdom. At Aix a most dreadful earthquake was felt, and in many places the hail-stones and winds destroyed all the fruits of the earth. The French king had issued an edict, ordering that all the crown debts, which are payable out of the revenue of the crown, should be redeemable, some at twenty years purchase, without regard to the original capital, and others in proportion to what the present possessors paid for them. By the same edict, which was registered that day, a duty of one per cent. was laid on all alienations of immoveables.

The French parliaments took exception to these and other edicts. That of Rouen passed an edict against the proceedings of the duke de Harcourt, who had made transcriptions and erasures in their records, and came to some very spirited resolutions against registering the king's edicts and declarations, but finding their opposition disregarded, most of the members resigned. This startled the French king so much, that he refused to accept of their resignations, and promised to make alterations in his edicts. The parliament of Thoulouse was equally

The
French
parlia-
ments re-
fractory.

An. 1764. repugnant to the royal will, and the duke of Fitz James put its members under arrest, for refusing to register the edicts. Their resentment made an impression upon the king, especially as the province of Normandy made it appear, that, of sixty millions of livres, which they annually paid in taxes, not above fifteen came into the royal treasury. Articles of impeachment against the duke of Fitz James were presented by the parliament of Thoulouſe, and they were drawn up in a strain that would have done honour to the nobleſt periods of antiquity. They even ordered that the ſaid duke of Fitz James ſhould be perſonally taken and ſeized, whereſoever he could be found in the kingdom, and brought to the priſons of the court; and, in caſe he could be apprehended, his eſtates and effects ſhould be ſeized, or put under the adminiſtration of a legal commiſſary, according to the ordinance. An appeal was made to the parliament of Paris upon this arret, and the firſt preſident waited upon the king, to know whether his majeſty would be pleaſed to attend the examination?

They
proſecute
the duke
of Fitz
James.

This was the moſt extraordinary requeſt that, perhaps, was ever made to a French king. The answer was, that, as the duke of Fitz James represented his perſon in the province of Languedoc, he reſerved to himſelf and his council, the determination of his cauſe; permitting, however, the parliament to make ſuch representations of his conduct as they ſhould find agreeable to juſtice and the laws. This answer proved by no means ſatisfactory; and a committee, conſiſting of the princes of the blood, four peers, and ſixty members of parliament,

ment, was nominated to wait upon the king, with fresh remonstrances ; but the duke's death, which happened soon after, put a stop to farther proceedings. This affair, however, was not the only point of difference between the court and parliaments of France. The first president of the parliament of Rouen informed the king that ever since the members had resigned their gowns, there was a total stop to the administration of justice of that province. The archbishop of Paris, as usual, had inveighed against the encroachments, as he thought them, of the civil, upon the ecclesiastical, authority, especially in the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, and acknowledged himself to be the author of a Pastoral Instruction on that head, which the Parliament had condemned to the flames. Not satisfied with this, orders were issued for the peers to be summoned to deliberate farther on the matter, and the king himself was invited to be present ; but his answer was, that he had already punished the archbishop by banishing him, and it was his pleasure that they should proceed no farther against him. The bishop of Amiens having taken up the pen in the archbishop's defence, the parliament of Paris ordered his performance likewise to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

About this time the public of France was greatly elated by the death of the famous duchess of Pompadour, whom the people, during her life, had considered as their scourge. She was the wife of a private gentleman ; but ambition had rendered her the mistress of the French king, over whom she exercised an uncontrouled sway, even for several years

Death of
madam
Pompa-
dour.

An. 1764. years after he was a stranger to her arms. She was equally vindictive as rapacious, and not only ministers but generals were raised by her nomination. The French attributed to her all their misfortunes in the late war, that they might veil their national ignominy; though probably they might have been equally unfortunate had she never existed. It is certain that, before her death, the French king yielded much to his parliaments, who obtained what future ages will look upon as a complete triumph over his prerogative.

Rebellion
of the
Dutch
negroes in
America.

In July 1763, the government of Holland received an account that the negroes belonging to their colony of the Berbices, in South America, had rebelled in the month of the preceding February, and had made themselves masters of all the plantations in that settlement excepting three. At first great pains were taken by some who wanted to pass for Dutch patriots, to fix the infamy of this revolt upon the English, whose behaviour soon convinced the public of the falsity of the report. The negroes, at first, murdered all the white men who fell into their hands. The insurrection broke out in a plantation called Magdalenburgh, where about twenty whites were killed, none escaping but those who got on board four vessels that lay in the river, and carried them to Curassoa. Those planters who wanted to secrete their slaves were either put to death, or obliged to suffer them to join in the insurrection; and at last the rebellion became general. A hundred of the Dutch militia recovered two of their plantations, and put the rebels to flight.

The

An.1764.

The proceedings of those negroes were barbarous beyond expression. Some of the planters were cut in pieces, bit by bit, and the most favoured had a spike drove through their bodies. On the 8th of March the governor quitted the town, and set fire to it ; but notwithstanding all the efforts of the militia, and some reinforcements which arrived from Surinam, they continued greatly superior to the planters and the whites, who were plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. When the account of this insurrection arrived at Barbadoes, the English governor of that island immediately ordered all the assistance to be sent to the Dutch planters that the state of his government could admit of, which put a stop to the progress of the rebels ; so that, when supplies came from the European Dutch, they had very little more to do than to complete what the English had begun. But whether the colony itself has been since secured against insurrections of the like nature, time only can determine. We are now to return to the history of Great Britain.

One of the principal objects of this session of parliament was the proposal made by the Bank of England to the committee of the house of commons for advancing the sum of one million on exchequer-bills, and for paying the sum of 1,100,000l. into the exchequer. We have already explained the purpose for which the former of those sums was intended. The latter was meant as a present to the public for renewing the patent of the bank, which

The Bank of England renews its charter. See vol. iv. p. 115.

An. 1764. which has been long so beneficial to this kingdom, and so profitable to the members of that important body. We are here to observe, that, upon the original establishment of the bank of England, the proprietors obtained their charter upon the consideration of their lending the government 1,200,000 l. at an interest which amounted to above 8 per cent. But the public prepossessions ran then so strongly against banking, which might be abused into a monopoly of money, that an act at the same time passed, by which it was expressly provided, "That at any time, upon twelve months notice, after the 1st of August 1705, and upon repayment by parliament of the said sum of 1,200,000 l. and all arrears of the said yearly interest, the payment of the said yearly interest, and the said corporation, should absolutely cease and determine." In 1697, the term was continued to the 1st of August 1710, upon their agreeing to lend another sum upon the like exorbitant interest; but the privileges were enlarged by a clause which provided, "That, during the continuance of this bank, no other bank should be either erected or permitted by parliament." Before the expiration of the term in 1710, the government found so much benefit from the institution of this bank, that it was enacted, "That, after the 29th of September 1708, during the continuance of the bank of England, it shall not be lawful for any body politic or corporate (other than the said company of the bank) or for any partners exceeding six in England, to borrow or owe any sum on bill or note, payable on demand,

mand, or at any time less than six months from the borrowing thereof. An. 1764.

Whatever consideration the governors or other persons interested in the bank might bestow upon those who procured them this great and indeed unprecedented exclusive privilege, it is certain, that upon the whole all that the public gained in return was in point of conveniency. The whig ministers found that they could more readily raise money by the bank than by any other method of financing; and therefore they carried through every measure for its advantage, without seeming once to reflect on the prodigious load of interest attending every one of those convenient calls upon the bank. It was even remarked (though we are not in this place to descend to particulars) that after the East India company had agreed to accept of five per cent. for the interest of the debt due from the government, the bank insisted upon having six, without their being all the while at one shilling of expence for the renewal of their charter, though prolonged to the year 1732, and from thence to the year 1742. Thus (whatever may be pretended) the favours of the government, and the public money, have laid the foundation of the vast credit of the bank of England; and the sums which they gained by banking under whig ministers are incredible. In the year 1742, when their term was to expire, the nation was engaged in a war with Spain; and the government having then occasion for money, the directors of the bank agreed to advance the sum of 1,600,000*l.* before December 25, 1742, without

History of
the Bank.

An. 1764. any interest to be paid for it after the first of August, 1743, from which time they were to rest satisfied with their original annuity of 100,000*l.* upon condition of their term being continued till the first of August, 1764: in pursuance of which agreement, the act 15 Geo. II. ch. 23. was passed the next session, by which their corporation and term of exclusive banking, with all former privileges, was to continue till the first of August 1764; after which, upon a year's notice, and payment of the said 1,600,000*l.* now advanced, and the like sum before advanced, and all arrears of their said annuity of 100,000*l.* and the principal and interest owing them on all tallies, exchequer-orders, exchequer-bills, or parliamentary funds, (except such fund as were otherwise provided for) which the company should have remaining in their hands, or be intitled to, at the time of such notice given, then, and not till then, their corporation was to cease and determine.

All the favour the public received from the directors, even at this period, was their agreeing to take less interest for the whole of their debt, amounting now to three millions, two hundred thousand pounds, than was that year allowed for money advanced on the land-tax. It is well known, that when the great reduction of interest took place in 1749, the general court of the bank, with those of the other two great companies, opposed it, till they saw that the parliament was likely to pay off the capital stock, if they stood out; and then they agreed to it. By the new act the redemption-clause above-mentioned is repealed, and it is enacted, that the
said

said governor and company, and their successors for ever, shall continue one body corporate and politic, by the name aforesaid, and shall for ever receive and enjoy the said entire yearly fund of 100,000 l. together with perpetual succession and privilege of exclusive banking, and all other abilities, powers, privileges, and advantages whatsoever, whereunto they were intitled by the acts or charters then in force; subject nevertheless to such restrictions and rules, and also to such other agreements, as in the said acts and charters are prescribed. The privilege of exclusive banking, is, after this, very strongly guarded, tho' it was thought that some doubts may arise after the first of August, 1786, when their debt is redeemable, upon a year's notice, whether those privileges do not cease and determine.

An. 1764.

It is determined in 1786.

The next money-matter, of great importance, which came under the cognizance of the parliament, related to the consideration of proper methods for raising a revenue in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards defraying the necessary charges of defending, protecting, and securing them. This consideration took in a great variety of objects, but especially that of preventing smuggling, so as that the duties laid upon the American trade may come into the hands of the government. The ministry met with no opposition in carrying through this measure, which in itself was so very reasonable after the prodigious expences the mother country had been at upon those colonies and plantations, and considering the great probability of wars and disturbances with the Indi-

Refractory conduct of the English government in America.

An. 1764. and during the infancy of the peace. But the behaviour of the assemblies in North America towards his majesty's governors was far from exhibiting any marks of zeal or affection either to the service of the king or their mother-country. The illicit trade openly carried on between them and the French and Spanish colonies, bade defiance to all law and regulations, and many intimations had been thrown out that it was not impossible for them to withdraw their dependency upon Great Britain. The disputes in Pennsylvania, New England, Virginia, and other colonies, before the late war, carried with them disagreeable prognostics, which were quieted only by the fear of the French. That fear is now removed; the colonies are not only extended but secured, and the continent of America alone contains above two millions of free British subjects: the necessity of having a revenue raised from such a body was self-evident; but some thought it might be dangerous to provoke them. To this it was replied, that the danger must encrease by forbearance; and as the taxation was indispensable, the sooner the experiment was made the better.

They are
taxed.

On the 10th of March the house resolved upon several new duties on imports and exports to and from the British colonies and plantations in America; the whole amounting to a very considerable sum. Among the other resolutions, one was, that towards further defraying the said expences, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations. But this resolution was reserved to take place the succeeding year. It was remarkable that those resolutions which passed into laws

laws affected no necessary of life, nor any material for manufacture, nor gave the least discouragement to the necessary population of those vast dominions. An. 1764.

The business of the session being over, his majesty put an end to it by a speech the most extraordinary that had ever come from the throne since the accession of the family of Hanover. Though the election of a king of the Romans was then actually proceeding at Franckfort, and though that of a king of Poland interested in one shape or other all the powers upon the continent, yet his majesty made no mention of either of those great events. The public saw, to its pleasing amazement, that the withdrawing British money from bribing German princes was the surest way to establish the tranquillity of Europe; and the immense sums which had been lavished upon German subsidies, during the two last reigns, now rose fresh to every one's remembrance. His majesty, in general, told the house that he had received assurances of the pacific dispositions of the several powers with whom we were lately at war. He thanked the house for the supplies for maintaining the fleet in a respectable state; for augmenting the public revenues, uniting the interests of the most distant possessions of his crown, and for encouraging and securing their commerce with Great Britain; but above all he took notice with pleasure of their having discharged a part of the heavy debt contracted and unprovided for during the late war, without imposing upon the kingdom the burden of any new taxes. The calm which was so visible at the

The session of parliament ended.

AN. 1764. close of this session was soon disturbed by explosions from the press, if possible more fierce than any that had been yet discharged. The veracity of the ministers was attacked with regard to the accounts of the finances that had been given by them or their friends to the public; and their enemies triumphed till the next publication in defence of the government destroyed the grounds of their opposition. Other pamphlets were published, defending the minority, as if the question about Mr. Wilkes had been entirely decided in the courts below, and that therefore no dependency of a litigation ought to have affected the question which had been moved against general warrants in parliament. Some great names were publicly mentioned, as the authors of those pamphlets, nor was the report ever contradicted; but the cause of opposition was hurt by such publications, because both sides having appealed to facts, they turned out incontestably in favour of the ministry. But we are now to attend a scene of a different and a more pleasing nature.

History of
the tour
of his
royal
highness
the duke
of York

The noble and liberal manners which his majesty had introduced into his court excluded the narrow circumscribed notions that had generally prevailed even in English palaces. A taste for the arts was now united to the love of liberty, and the gloomy habits of prepossession and prejudice began daily to wear off. The public had not for many years seen a prince of the British blood improving himself by travel; and as an heir-apparent to the crown was now born, his royal highness the duke of York obtained his majesty's leave to add the improvements of travelling to his other acquisitions, which
had

qualified him to make the tour of Europe with more than an empty parade of curiosity. That he might avoid the fatigue of ceremony, he resolved to travel under the title of earl of Ulster. On the 23d of September 1763, he embarked on board the *Centurion*, commanded by commodore Harrison, with the royal standard hoisted at the main-top-mast-head; and after receiving due honours from the shipping, he set sail, and arrived on the 3d of October at Lisbon. A visit of this kind, after the recent deliverance of Portugal by the British arms, could not but be highly agreeable to his most faithful majesty. His royal highness lodged in the house of the secretary of state; he was attended by the king's equipages, and was offered a guard, but he declined it. Nothing was omitted on the part of the court and the ministry, to testify the high sense of the obligations they lay under to the king and nation of Great Britain. Music, operas, and entertainments were every day exhibited for the diversion of so illustrious a guest; the count de Oeyras, Senhor don John, the high-admiral, the archbishop of Evora, the lord chief justice, were appointed to attend him, and he dined with the count de Villanova. On the 15th of October he went to Mafra, where the royal family then resided, and it was thought he took that opportunity of discharging a private but important commission with his most faithful majesty and his ministers. The British consul and merchants in Lisbon distinguished themselves in entertaining his royal highness with a most magnificent ball and supper. He spent three weeks and four days in the capital of Portugal.

To Lisbon.

An. 1764.

Genoa.

During that time, his Britannic majesty's ship the *Valeur* had sailed to Genoa, to apprise the British consul of his royal highness's intention to visit that city; and he re embarked at Lisbon on the 28th of October, proceeding to Gibraltar with the *Thames* frigate and *Vulture* sloop, in company. He was received with proper honours by general Cornwallis the governor; and, after spending two days in viewing that stupendous fortress, he proceeded to Minorca, where he arrived on the 11th of November, and had an opportunity of examining the fortifications of Fort St. Philip. As the Duke of York, by his education was perfectly well qualified to judge of the state of those two bulwarks of the British empire in the Mediterranean, the public of England was highly pleased at his visiting them; and it has been said that several very useful works are now adding to Gibraltar, in consequence of some observations made on the spot by his royal highness. On the 17th of the same month he sailed from Minorca, attended by the *Lively* and *Thames* frigates; and, after encountering some bad weather, he arrived at Genoa on the 28th at night. The good faith which England had observed towards that republic ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by avoiding all opportunities of intermeddling with the affairs of Corsica, where the insurgents had often offered to put themselves under the British protection, had disposed the Genoese to entertain the highest opinion of English honour; and the success of the British arms in every part of the globe had inspired them with the most exalted ideas of the British power; so that nothing

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could

could exceed either the politeness or magnificence with which those republicans received and entertained the royal stranger. The Genoese master of the ceremonies came on board the Centurion, and acquainted his royal highness that the republic had ordered a palace to be fitted up for his use; but as the duke still retained the character of earl of Ulster, he declined that and all the other honours intended him, excepting a deputation of six noblemen, who were appointed on the part of the senate, to attend him during his residence at Genoa; their names were James Gentile, Bartholomew Lomellino, Nicolas Cattaneo, Jerome Durazzo, Jerome Veneroso, and Dominic Franzone. Most of the Genoese nobility attended those deputies in paying their respects to his royal highness. On the 30th of November he received a present, on the part of the republic, of all kinds of fruits, wines, wild fowl, and other refreshments; and the Duke going on shore in the evening, was entertained with a magnificent ball, and a supper of forty covers, in the palace which had been prepared for his reception. Even the gloomy forms of their religion were set aside to do honour to his person and high rank; for, though it was advent time, when no theatrical diversions nor masking is allowed in that state, yet, after the ball, the palace doors were thrown open, and a great company of maskers were admitted, to testify their respects to his royal highness.

The 2d and 3d of December were spent in concerts and assemblies, in which the nobility of Genoa vied with each other in the magnificence of their

Turin.

An. 1764. their dresses and equipages; and nothing could be more splendid than the diversions and entertainments exhibited during the remaining part of the month. His royal highness did not yield to the noble Genoese in politeness. He invited the greatest personages of their republic to an entertainment on the 10th of January, on board his ship, and being sensible of the great sums laid out in entertaining him, it is said that he made presents during his residence at Genoa to the amount of near 40,000 ducats. On the 11th of February he left that magnificent city, one of the most shewy perhaps of any in the world, and set out by land to visit his Sardinian majesty's dominions. No prince in Europe, the empress queen excepted, had been more beholden than his Sardinian majesty to the friendship of Great Britain, which has rendered him far more powerful than any of his predecessors, and an impregnable bulwark to the ambition of France on the side of Italy. On the heights of Lonquette, the Duke's carriage happened to break down; and he proceeded on horseback to Alexandria, a city, which, thro' the good offices of England, had been ceded to the late king of Sardinian by the treaty of Utrecht. The high reputation in which the British royal family and name stood in the present king's dominions broke through all restraint, notwithstanding the desire of his royal highness to continue in a private character. When he approached to Alexandria he was met in the king of Sardinia's name by the commandant of the place with two coaches and six, which attended him to the governor's house,

house, (who was absent on account of his health) under a salute of 30 pieces of cannon, the guards lining the way and presenting their arms. He was there waited upon and magnificently entertained by the chief nobility and the officers of the garrison; and a captain's guard attended him. After visiting the citadel, which is a complete piece of military architecture, he received at his departure the same honours as at his arrival; and proceeding to Asti, the next fortified town, he was there treated in the same respectful manner.

When he arrived within ten miles of Turin he was met by his Sardinian majesty's master of the ceremonies, and his deputy, with the royal equipages, which conducted him to a palace prepared for his reception, where he received the compliments of the king and royal family of Sardinia, and those of all the foreign ministers, who waited upon his royal highness in a body. After this he was carried to court in the same equipages, attended by the master of the ceremonies, Mr. Pitt, the British envoy at Turin, sir William Boothby, and colonel St. John. His reception and entertainment by his Sardinian majesty differed in no respect from what it would have been had he appeared as duke of York. At the bottom of a private stair-case he was met by the same lord of the bed-chamber, who had complimented him in the name of the king, and was conducted from the head of the stairs by the grand chamberlain, to the royal presence: his majesty, on this occasion, was attended by the duke of Chablais, his eldest son by his second marriage, and the prince of Piedmont, eldest

An.1764. est son to the duke of Savoy, (the heir of his Sardinian majesty's crown) who was then confined by a fever to his room. He was afterwards attended by the duke and the prince to the duke and duchess of Savoy's apartment, where he was received by the rest of the princes and princesses of the royal family; and then reconducted to his palace with the same ceremonies, and in the same equipages.

All this state and magnificence did not exclude the warmest testimonies of esteem and cordiality in the interviews his royal highness had with his Sardinian majesty and the royal family, whose heart the duke won by the politeness, ease, and sincerity of his behaviour. He seemed as if he had been born and educated in the Sardinian court; and when the first ceremonies were over, he was waited upon by the prince of Carignan and his son, the great officers of state, the knights of the order of the Annunciation, and by all persons of distinction about court. On the 15th of February, count Albeni de Belgios came from Milan to Turin on the part of the duke of Modena, who, by order of the empress-queen, offered his royal highness the ducal palace at Milan when he should visit that city. The visits of state and public entertainments being over, his royal highness inspected the citadel and the other fortifications about Turin; and then received, by the marquis Calcagnini, the duke of Parma's compliments, with an invitation to spend some time at his court. During the residence of his royal highness at Turin, he gave several magnificent entertainments to the
royal

An. 1764.

Florence.

royal family and nobility, and more than once dined with his majesty in private. On the 6th of March he took leave of the court of Turin, who seemed to be sensibly affected at his departure. His royal highness then set out for Milan, where he was received and treated with all the honours due to his rank ; but when he came to Parma, he only stopt till he could change horses ; and he received the compliments from the duke by Mr. Tillot at his coach-door. On the 16th he arrived at Florence, and took up his residence at the house of Sir Horace Mann, the British minister there. Tho' he declared that he would be known under no other character than that of earl of Ulster, yet the streets through which he passed was crowded with spectators, and a guard attended him ; but his royal highness politely dismissed it. The marshal Botta, the members of the regency, and the great chancellor of Russia, who was then at Florence, sent to know when they might be permitted to wait upon his royal highness. He received them after dinner, but declined the offer made him by the marshal, in the name of the emperor, of the use of the imperial equipages and palaces, during his residence at Florence. Next day he took a tour about the town in his coach, called upon marshal Botta, admitted all the English to dine with him ; and the day following he received the members of the regency, and the foreign ministers. Hearing that marshal Botta declined, out of respect, to invite him to dinner, his royal highness sent him word that he would dine with him on the 19th ; and the evening concluded with a grand assembly opened for

An. 1764. for the ladies. As the neighbourhood of Florence is perhaps the most delightful spot in Italy, it is no wonder his royal highness remained there till the 2d of April.

Leghorn. Next day he arrived at Leghorn, attended by Sir William Boothby, colonel St. John, and Sir Horace Mann. About four miles from the town he was met by Mr. Dick, the British consul, with a train of twenty coaches, that carried the gentlemen of the factory. After this, he admitted the governor of Leghorn into his coach, entered the city escorted by a detachment of dragoons, and under the discharge of three rounds of twenty-four cannon, with the garrison drawn out; but he ordered a company of grenadiers, who had been sent as his guard, to Mr. Dick's house, where he lodged, to be dismissed. When he had received the compliments of the factory, the governor, the civil and military officers, and the principal nobility of both sexes in the place, he visited whatever was curious in the port, the mole, and the Lazaretto, and admitted the governor, with some of the chief inhabitants and gentlemen of the factory, to dinner. He then diverted himself with hunting in the woods of St. Rosori, a spot dedicated to the diversion of the Grand Duke; and was there magnificently regaled by the governor under a tent.

The Tuscan states.

From Leghorn, his royal highness went to Pisa, and on the road he was met by a guard, which conducted him into the town under a discharge of its artillery. From Pisa he proceeded directly to Lucca, a republic whose state gives us some resemblance of that happy industry which is protected by liberty,

or

or at least the appearances of it. Small and important as Lucca formerly was, its present magistrates entertained his royal highness with amazing splendour. Six of their nobles met him at a small distance from their city, and paid him very polite compliments. He was received under a discharge of the artillery, and chose to alight at an inn, tho' the magistrates had provided a house for the use of their illustrious visitor. The same deputies waited upon him at his inn, to desire his acceptance of a present, consisting of eighteen chests of oil, wine, coffee, chocolate, wax, sweetmeats, hams, and various other refreshments. This present was ushered in by a maitre d'hôtel, (whom his royal highness generously rewarded) and carried by fifty servants in the livery of the republic. The Duke then was conducted in coaches of the republic to the palace, which was magnificently furnished, and had been prepared for his lodging, where he met with a splendid entertainment, of which many ladies partook. A ball followed, with a concert of vocal and instrumental music; nor did the company break up till three in the morning. His royal highness then set out on his return to Florence; and in passing Pistoia, he was saluted by the cannon, complimented by the governor of the place; and after lying at one of the emperor's hunting seats, returned in the evening to Florence, where he partook of the usual diversions. On the 11th of April, marshal Botta and the regency waited upon the Duke to wish him a good journey; and he set out, attended by Sir Horace Mann, for Sienna. He was met on the road by the nobility
of

An. 1764. of both sexes in their coaches, and received into the city with the same honours as at Leghorn; where his apartments were furnished by marshal Botta's orders from the wardrobe of the emperor. After a short refreshment, the governor and the commandant of the troops there, attended his royal highness while he inspected the principal curiosities of the place; and in the evening he was, by order of the marshal Botta, entertained at a lady's house with a magnificent ball, at which all the people of distinction in town assisted.

Rome. Hitherto the public of Great Britain were greatly divided in opinion, whether a British prince would visit the capital of Italy, which was the residence of a person who bears his illustrious title, and of the pretender to his brother's crown and dominions. But the amiable qualities of his Britannic majesty and his illustrious family, had disarmed even prejudice and bigotry; and it was insinuated that, rather than his royal highness should be put to the smallest inconveniency, the exceptionable personages would leave the city during his residence in it. The Duke having left Sienna on the 13th of April, passed through Bon Convento, San Quericio, Radicofino, the last place in the Florentine dominions, Aquapendente, the first in the pope's territory, Bolsena, Montefiasconci, famous for its wines, Viterbo, where he lodged, Monto Rosa, Varca, and Veii, the rival of antient Rome; and on the 14th he arrived at that capital. It happened that his royal highness had some knowledge of certain noblemen there of high quality, who had visited England; and his holiness had

had the politeness to send the grand prior Corsini, An. 1764. and one of the Borgheze family, both of whom had been in England, to compliment him in the name of the ecclesiastical state, and to offer their services during his residence at Rome. Had his holiness been at the head of the protestant religion, he could not have treated his royal highness with greater marks of esteem, regard, and benevolence, than he express'd. The two princes, already mentioned, attended him through all the labyrinths of ruin and magnificence. Princes, cardinals, and noblemen vied with each other in doing him honour; and the elegant magnificence of this once mistress of the world seemed to be revived in the entertainments of every kind that were made for his royal highness. His holiness made him a present of some chests of rich wine, besides some valuable curiosities, and every thing that was rare waited upon the illustrious stranger from princes and noblemen, for his acceptance. Before the duke left Rome, the pope ordered a horse-race, after the Roman manner, to be performed by barbs *. The evening before his departure, he sent him, in a present, two fine pictures, and the prints of Rome, elegantly bound, with a compliment of personal regard for his royal highness, on account of his prudent, pleasing, and affable behaviour. It is said that the Duke, on taking leave of his two princely conductors, made them a noble present of Saxon porcelane.

* For a description of this kind of horse-racing, see Condamine's Travels.

An. 1764.

His royal highness returned to Florence from Rome, and from thence set out for Bologna, where he arrived on the 5th of May. Having seen whatever was worthy of curiosity in that once famous seminary of learning, and every where attended by the usual honours due to his rank, he set out for Parma, where he alighted at the hotel Palavicini, and was complimented again by Mr. Tillot, who immediately introduced him to his master. The duke of Parma is, in his behaviour, a remarkable exception to the pride and formality for which the Spanish branches of the families of Austria and Bourbon have been generally noted. As he was an early adventurer for sovereignty, he entered upon life with few prepossessions, and his subjects have experienced under him that happiness which results from the good sense of a sovereign, who places his greatness in the welfare of his people. He received the duke of York with the same ease and frankness with which he would have receiv'd his brother; and some English noblemen of great distinction being then at the court of Parma, all their parties and entertainments were agreeably heightened, especially as the duke of Parma himself is no small proficient in the English language. The illustrious stranger visited all the branches of the royal house of Spain then at Parma; often dined and lived in a kind of intimacy with the court; partook of all the diversions of the field and the theatre, where the actors carried their complaisance so far to his royal highness, that in one of their operas, they introduced some complimentary lines upon his person. After hunting in the park of Colorno, and

Parma.

partak-

partaking of a vast variety of musical, masking, and other, exhibitions, the whole concluded with a magnificent masquerade ball at the theatre; at which the duke of Parma and all the royal family assisted. An. 1764.

His royal highness proceeded from Parma to Mantua, where he was entertained with proper honours; and on the 25th of May he was received on the frontiers of the Venetian state, by detachments of light Dalmatian horse, who escorted him to Verona. Here a magnificent bull-feast had been prepared for his entertainment, to be exhibited in the old amphitheatre, which is perhaps the completest Roman antiquity in the world, of that kind. His royal highness's scheme of travelling prevented this mark of respect being shewn to him; and, after receiving at his inn the compliments of M. Cornaro, the potesta, he proceeded to Vicenza, where he alighted from his coach to see the Olympic theatre; and proceeding to Padua, was there complimented by the proveditor and the chief nobility. On the 26th at night, he arrived at Venice. Mantua.

The government of that ancient, and once powerful Republic, have for some years courted the protection, and cultivated the friendship of England. Fallen from what they were, they omitted no mark of esteem and regard for the British nation, whose interest it is to preserve a proper balance of trade among all the Mediterranean and Adriatic states; in consequence of which, Venice of late has been distinguished with particular favours and honours. More than one English nobleman of high rank, during the late reign, resided here as ambassador; and we have already men- Venice.

An. 1764. tioned the great pomp with which their ambassadors appeared at London. The truth is, the friendship of England has secured to that republic the respect of her inveterate enemies the Turks, and of all the Barbary states; and she has, for above thirty years past, remained in a state of tranquil prosperity. Four deputies of the first quality were appointed by the doge to attend his royal highness during his residence at Venice; magnificent boxes were fitted up in the opera-house for his reception there; and a very fine felucca was built to carry him through the different quarters of the city. He was attended by other feluccas, filled with the English nobility and gentry, who happened to be then at Venice, and by noble Venetians, all of them rowed by boat-men in English dresses. He visited the arsenal, (and while he was there, they began to build a large galley,) the rope-walks, the armoury, and it is said saw 3000 hands employed in ship-building. Concerts of music attended him, and feats of activity, peculiar to the country, were every where exhibited for his amusement. On the 30th, he received from the magistrates of Razon Vecchia, the usual presents made to foreign princes, consisting of a large service of glass for a desert, and of wax in a variety of forms of birds, fruits, and flowers, to which was added a bureau of very extraordinary workmanship. After those and many other honours had been paid him, both by land and water, his royal highness, on the 3d of June, saw, in a very noble barge, the famous ceremony of the doge proceeding in his bucentoro or galley of state, to espouse the Adriatic sea; and in
th

the evening he was entertained with a concert of *An. 1764.*
music.

These were but preludes to the magnificent exhibitions upon the great canal on the 4th of June, his Britannic majesty's birth-day. The zeal of the deputies was not to be damped by the shortness of time allotted for the preparations of this glorious spectacle, which the Venetians call a public regatta. It is introduced by a race in single boats of a four mile course, terminating in a conspicuous structure, erected on barges representing the palace of Joy; and in the front of the first story was represented Venice embracing Britain. His royal highness having received the compliments of all the English noblemen and gentlemen, and the most distinguished foreigners at the house of Mr. Murray, the British resident, went on board a vessel called a *bissona*, and was attended by a numerous and splendid train of barges, which rendezvoused before his palace, to the number of nine magnificent peotas, ten fine *bissonas*, seven *margarottas*, and one *ballotina*; all of them terms for various magnificent water-carriages. After the first race was over, his royal highness went ashore to a palace, where a noble collation was prepared for him; and from its balcony he saw the remaining diversions, the most splendid perhaps of the kind of any exhibited since the days of antient Rome. The peotas were emblematical pageants representing the four elements, Great Britain, the Whale Fishery, the Triumphs of Pallas and Venus, and the Chariot of the Sun; all rivalling each other in pomp, and glittering with silver and gold, particu-

An. 1764. larly the various elegant dresses of the rowers, musicians, and other figures, in each peota, richly adorned with laces, besides the long fringes and tassels of silver playing upon the water. The bifsonas were barges with eight oars; the margarottas with six; and the ballotinas had four. Both barges and rowers were dressed in a most elegant taste, and were as fine as silk, gold, and silver could make them. So very expensive were the nobles upon this occasion, that they changed all the dresses of their rowers after the third race.

His re-
turn to
England,

The nature of our undertaking does not permit us to particularize the vast profusion of other honours and entertainments, which the Duke partook of during his stay in this superb city; and indeed the variety, elegance, and richness, leave it in dispute, whether the Venetians shewed themselves more ingeniously inventive, or emulous of deserving the good graces of his royal highness. On the 16th of June he went up the Brenta to Padua, where he was received by four nobles; and, as usual, entertained with all the elegances that music, art, and a happy climate could afford. The proveditor omitted nothing that could merit the approbation of his masters, the Venetian senate, in the magnificent entertainments he gave to his royal highness during his residence at Padua. From thence the duke went to Vincenza, where he saw all the curious pageantries exhibited by the clergy and the natives, on the feast of the Corpus Domini. In the afternoon he saw a horse-race, and took an airing in that beautiful neighbourhood, attended by a hundred and fifty very rich equipages. On the

the 11th of July he returned to Turin, where he was received by his Sardinian majesty and family, with the same marks of distinction and affection as before. He left Turin on the 26th, and arrived at Genoa on the 28th. On the 17th of August he left Genoa, landed on the 20th at Nice, and proceeded from thence to Antibes, then to Carren, Avignon, and Lions, through Burgundy, and other parts of France to Calais; from thence he arrived at Dover, and on the 1st of September at London.

Upon the return of the duke of York, after so pleasing a tour of travel, the public did not fail to reflect upon the very different entertainment his royal brother met with from the factions at home. Every foolish or insolent exploit of a French officer by sea or land; every commotion of government; every disturbance occasioned by sloth, vice, or intemperance, were, by the discontented, placed to the account of the government; and they were even loaded with the blame of the natural scarcity of provisions which at that season affected England. If the English at this time suffered a real grievance, it arose from the marriage act; the observance of which was now found to be intolerable and impracticable. Numbers of young people of great fortune repaired to Scotland, where they were married; and many great and eminent lawyers having objected to the validity of the Scotch marriages, the parties, their friends and families, were thrown into the most cruel disquietudes, with regard to the legitimacy of the issue from such matches. Their consternation was heightened by a declaration emitted by the presbytery of Edinburgh, who thought

where a
scarcity of
provisions pre-
vail.

An. 1764. it their duty, in justification of themselves, and the rest of their brethren of the established church of Scotland, “to say and declare, that not one of these marriages, nor any marriage of that kind, has been performed by any minister of this presbytery, nor so far as they know, by any minister of this established church. What forms the celebrators of such marriages have observed, whether those of the church of England, or of the church of Scotland, this presbytery knows not.” This cruel state of uncertainty occasioned a bill being brought into the house of commons for annulling that act; but it met with great opposition; tho’ probably it will be regulated at a more favourable juncture.

Invasion
of the
French
upon
Turk’s-
Island.

An incident which happened in the West-Indies about this time greatly elevated the gentlemen of the opposition. On the coast of Spanish Hispaniola lies what is called Turk’s-Island, properly so called, being the capital island of many others which go under that name. Tho’ it is an uncomfortable barren spot, without either harbour or settlement upon it, and only about four miles in length, yet the coast abounds with fish, turtle, and sea fowls; and the soil itself produces salt. As it is impossible for any settlement to subsist upon the island, the property of it is undetermined; yet the Bermudians and other British subjects resort thither for the benefit of gathering salt in the dry season. Their life is the most wretched that can be conceived, by those who have no idea of the sweets of independency and industry. They dwell in huts covered with leaves; a kettle and a knife are their only utensils; salt pork, and when they have time to go in quest
of

An. 1764.

of it, a turtle or guano is their food; and a straw hat, check shirt, with a pair of very coarse linnen trowsers form their dress. Their chief customers are the people of New-England, who buy their salt at the rates of from 4 d. to 6 d. a bushel, for curing their fish, and pay them in truck. In June this year, a French 74 gun ship, with a snow, sloop, and xebecque, landed from Cape François upon this unimportant island, turned off the English, who were about 200, while they were making their salt, plundered and burnt their cabins, and carried their persons prisoners, together with nine English vessels, which they found off the island of Cape François. There they were detained one night, and next morning were told that they might go where they pleased, provided they did not return to Turk's-Island.

It was generally thought that the French intended to attempt a settlement upon that uncomfortable spot; and some gave out that they had robbed the English ships of a considerable property. Mr. Littelton, the governor of Jamaica, being informed of those hostilities, lost no time in communicating his intelligence to the ministry, nor they in transmitting it to the earl of Hertford, the British ambassador at the court of France. In the mean time an account of the whole affair was laid before the public, and represented by the opposition writers, as a plan of the court of France, which was to be executed by D'Estaing, their active but infamous, governor at St. Domingo, for expelling the English, not only from that, but from the other islands and possessions in the West-Indies.

Satisfaction given by the court of France.

See vol. iv. p. 245, 246.

An. 1764. Indies. In short, it was held forth as being a most justifiable ground for a new war. They were, however silenced, when they were told by authority, that “ the court of France, in answer to the representations made by the earl of Hertford, demanding immediate satisfaction and reparation for acts of violence committed, on the 1st of June last, by the commander of a French ship of war, in conjunction with other French vessels at one of the Turk’s-islands, had disavowed those proceedings, had disclaimed all intention or desire of acquiring or conquering the Turk’s-islands; and had given orders to the comte D’Estaign, governor of St. Domingo, to cause the said islands to be immediately abandoned on the part of the French; to restore every thing therein to the condition in which it was on the 1st of June last; and to make reparation of the damages which any of his majesty’s subjects shall be found to have sustained, in consequence of the said proceedings, according to an estimation to be forthwith settled by the said governor with his majesty’s governor of Jamaica.” This declaration was so explicit, and so much for the honour of the government, that the party was at once astonished and silenced.

Account
of the in-
terrupti-
on of the
English
Logwood
cutter.

An incident of the like kind that happened about the same time, gave them still a more promising handle for clamour. The reader, in the preceding part of this history, has seen in what manner the right which the English had to cut logwood, in the bay of Campeachy, has been ascertained by treaty. It is certain that the court of Spain has been generally too remiss in the instruc-

tions

tions given to their governors, concerning the observation of treaties negotiated with the English in Europe; and that this omission has been often attended with fatal effects to both nations. After the peace of Fontainebleau was concluded, the English settlers on the bay of Honduras began to cut logwood in the month of April, according to the 16th article of that treaty: but upon the 22d of February 1764, an order came from Don Joseph Rosado, commandant of Baccabar, obliging them to desist, and to confine themselves to Balis. Upon this the English joined in a petition to the governor of Jamaica, under whose protection they are, setting forth, "that the petitioners being ordered to withdraw from every other settlement, and retire to Balis with their effects, a total stagnation of business hath ensued; the commanders of ships, who have disposed of their cargoes to the petitioners, seeing no possibility of payment, refuse any longer to supply them with provisions; that having now no plantations of their own to maintain themselves and families, they see no possible means of preserving themselves from famine; that having no legal authority for settling disputes among themselves, they are reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion, in which the injured can have no redress."

Upon enquiry it was found, that the suspension complained of, had been in consequence of a letter, of the 29th of December, written to Joseph Maud by Phillipe Remires d'Estines, captain-general of Jucatan, who had arrived at Campeachy the 7th of the same month. The pretext was, that it was necessary to do something for securing the log-

in the
Bay of
Campeachy,

An. 1764. wood trade to the English, and preventing the Spaniards from being imposed upon, by pretenders to the rights of the British subjects. To obtain this end, Don Remires insisted upon obliging, in consequence of a stipulation between the two crowns, the logwood-cutters either to be furnished with the royal schedule, which Spain had expedited to this end, or with the licence of the king of England, for the aforesaid effect; and which was unknown before his arrival.

which is
removed
by the
Spaniards.

Governor Littelton, in consequence of the logwood-cutters petition, sent an agent from Jamaica, to enquire into the state of the case; and, if possible, to settle matters. This agent found that the bay-men, by order of the Spanish governor, were limited twenty leagues up the south-side of the new river; and, if caught on the north-side, to be arrested, and their negroes seized. In the river Balis, and four leagues to the southward of its mouth, they were to be allowed free liberty, without interruption; but if discovered to be any further to the southward, they subjected their effects to confiscation.

It is not to be dissembled that the proceeding of Remires against the logwood-cutters, before they had the necessary information to enable them to conform themselves to his will, was at least capricious; so that he was in fact obliged to pretend, that the logwood-cutters, instead of confining themselves to cutting, which was all they were entitled to by the 17th article of the treaty, had extended themselves, and gathered fruits as in their own country, without waiting for any settlement of limits. Whatever may be in this, it is certain

An. 1764.

certain that Remires exceeded his authority. The English ambassador at the court of Madrid made complaints of his conduct, and the reply of the Spanish ministry was "that they have not received any advices from that governor relative to this affair; but that it is certain the catholic king has given positive orders to his governor of Jucatan to abide by, and observe the 17th article of the last treaty of peace; and that he will not approve of the conduct of his subjects who act in contravention to it. That it is the intention of his catholic majesty, that no one shall impede the English in their cutting logwood in the stipulated places; and he will disapprove of his governors and ministers, whenever they act to the contrary, and renew the most strict orders to that effect."

This answer, tho' very explicit, was far from stopping the mouths of the opposition-writers. They called out for a Cromwell to head them; and were even guilty of forgeries, that they might introduce encomiums upon that usurper*. They pretended that the answer was disingenuous, because it stipulated no satisfaction that was to be

* As a proof of this, the reader will please to accept, from the publications of that time, the following letter from Oliver Cromwell to cardinal Mazarine, on his refusal to deliver up Dunkirk according to treaty. "Thou traitor, Mazarine, if thou refusest to deliver up Dunkirk into the hands of Lockit, my friend and counsellor, whom I have sent with full power to receive it, by the eternal God I will come and tear thee from thy master's bosom, and hang thee at the gates of Paris."

O. CROMWELL.

given

Ann 1764. given to the sufferers, nor any punishment to be
 inflicted on the offending governor. In short, they
 called out for an immediate declaration of war with
 Spain. Some of the ministry, perhaps, thought
 that a more explicit answer ought to have been
 given; and the earl of Rochford, the British mi-
 nister at Madrid, was ordered to make fresh re-
 monstrances. In consequence of those, new orders
 were dispatched to Remires the governor of Juca-
 tan, in which his catholic majesty disapproved the
 proceedings of that governor, with respect to
 his majesty's subjects in the bay of Honduras; ex-
 pressed his desire of giving his majesty the greatest
 proofs of his friendship, and of preserving peace
 with the British nation; and commanded Re-
 mires to re-establish the British logwood-cutters
 in the several places from which he had obliged
 them to retire; and to let them know, that they
 might return to their occupation of cutting log-
 wood, without being disquieted or disturbed under
 any pretence whatsoever. Those orders, so far as
 we are enabled to judge, were punctually complied
 with, nor have we heard of any farther complaints
 on that head; and to say the truth, the whole af-
 fair seems to have taken rise from the officious
 tyranny of an ignorant Spanish governor.

Case of
 Capt Sy-
 brand.

Another incident, which happened at this time,
 afforded fresh matter of clamour. The commo-
 dore of some Spanish xebèques, who were cruizing
 against the Algerines in the Mediterranean, at-
 tacked an English merchant ship, commanded by
 one Captain Sybrand, who immediately hoisted
 English colours; but having no guns on board,
 cried

out for mercy. This it seems had no effect upon the Spaniards, and the firing continued till the English ship was rendered next to a wreck; many of the crew were wounded; one of the passengers lost his arm, and the ship was carried into Carthagena. Tho' this hostility very probably arose from a mistake of the Spanish commodore; yet the English ambassador remonstrated so strongly upon the head, that his catholic majesty defrayed the expence of curing the wounded English, indemnified their captain for the interruption of his voyage, and gave the passenger a gratification for the loss of his arm. The spirit shewn by the English government on this occasion was indeed highly laudable; but it is to be wished, for the continuance of the good understanding between the two nations, that his catholic majesty would, in flagrant cases, punish personally such of his governors and commanders as commit violences against the English, either through hatred or ignorance, as they are equally attended with the same inhuman effects.

During those occasional differences with the court of Spain, an object of capital importance presented itself in Newfoundland, where commodore Palisser commanded the English shipping. By a sloop of war, which arrived from thence at Portsmouth, the French marine upon that island was represented to be in a most formidable condition, and it was given out they intended to fortify St. Peter's; Mr. Palisser not being strong enough to hinder them. It seems certain, that the behaviour of a French captain of a ship of war of 50 guns, had been so very equivocal, that the sloop had been sent

Encroachments of the French in Newfoundland.

An. 1764. sent to England by the commodore. Upon its arrival, the party in the opposition pronounced a French war to be inevitable, unless the British government were disposed to sacrifice both Newfoundland and Canada to their antient enemies. In the mean time, however, Mr. Palisser sent a sloop to the French governor at St. Peter's, to enquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed of the French having mounted cannon, and erected works on that island, contrary to treaty. He, in answer, received assurances from the governor, that there was no more than one four-pounder mounted, without a platform, and with no other intention, than to answer signals to their fishermen in foggy weather; that there were no buildings or works erected contrary to treaty; and that the guard consisted of no more than forty-seven men, and had never exceeded fifty. It farther appeared, by the commodore's letters, that there had not been, or were at that time, at the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, more than one French ship of war of fifty guns, one frigate of twenty-six guns, and another of less force, with two large ships en flute, the destination of one of the said ships en flute being for Cayenne, and the other for St. Domingo: that none of those ships had, and the commanding officer assured the commodore none of them would, enter into any of the harbours on the coasts of Newfoundland. The commodore added, that the concurrent fishery in those parts of the said coasts, whereon the French are by treaties permitted to fish, had been carried on, agreeable to the treaty, and in perfect tranquility.

This

An. 1764.

Com-
plaints
from the
English
West-Ind-
ia Colo-
nies:

This account, published by authority, disconcerted the schemes of all the enemies of our internal tranquility, whose resources were for some time confined to the finding out parallels between the law proceedings of the government against libelers, and those of the star chamber. But fresh accounts from America soon supplied them with new matter. After the conclusion of the peace, the government thought proper to send the most positive directions to their West-Indian governor and commanders of ships, for breaking off all kind of commerce between the British colonies there, and the French and Spanish settlements. Those orders, which perhaps were worded in too rigorous a manner, affected not only the inhabitants of Jamaica and the Leeward islands, but all the British America, whose commodities used to bring them abundance of gold and silver from the French and Spaniards, by which they were enabled to make their remittances to England. The most affecting representations on this head were sent over from the Colonies to England. They complained that all the British ships of war were now converted into guarda-costas, and their commanders into so many custom-house officers, who seized every Spanish ship or vessel which was carrying money to be exchanged for British commodities. It was thought that by this rigour, the French and Dutch islands gained, in a few month, above a millions of dollars, which must otherwise have been laid out in Jamaica. Those complaints were so universal, that orders of a less rigorous nature were sent over, and that valuable trade, or rather intercourse, is now returning

An. 1764. to its former channel. Those differences perhaps prevailed on the court of Denmark to declare the ports of two of their islands, those of St. Thomas and St. John, free for the importation of all American productions, on paying five per cent. duty; but all European goods were to be imported in Danish bottoms only.

Conti-
nental af-
fairs.

The powers upon the continent of Europe remained all this while in a state of unusual tranquillity, excepting in Poland, where differences subsisted, on account of the approaching election of a king. The diet there was so much in the interest of the empress of Russia, that they declared the investiture of prince Charles of Saxony in 1758, in the duchy of Courland, to be null and void; and acknowledged Ernest John, whom her Imperial majesty had restored to that government, to be the lawful duke; and that the dignity should be perpetual in his, the Biron, family.

About the same time a defensive treaty was concluded between that empress and the king of Prussia, containing a mutual guaranty of their respective dominions, and a stipulation of each furnishing the other, if attacked, with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, or more, if needful. Neither party was to conclude peace without the consent of the other; both nations were to enjoy a free commerce with each other; the treaty was to be in force for eight years; and it contained a secret article for maintaining Poland in its right of free election, and to prevent all hereditary succession. This treaty, and the tranquil state of the German empire after the election of a king of the Romans, left his Prussian majesty

An. 1764.

at liberty to pursue the excellent regulations which he had introduced into his dominions; of which one is particularly worthy of imitation, as it obliges the proper officers to send an account once a month of the behaviour of the inhabitants of their several districts, to be signed by the clergymen of the place, and transmitted to the chamber of war and domains, who was to lay it before the king. One of the first fruits of the good understanding between Russia, Prussia, and Poland, was seen in that republic formally agreeing to give the title of empress to her Czarian majesty, and that of king to his Prussian, upon his engaging never to lay any claim to Polish Prussia. This was followed by the ceremony of a betrothment at Charlottenburg between prince Frederic-William, presumptive heir of the throne of Prussia, and the princess Elizabeth Christina Ulrica-of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle; but, at this time, a most unheard of tragedy in Russia awakened the attention of all Europe:

Iwan, or John, the unhappy son of prince Anthony Ulric, second brother to the reigning duke of Brunswic, and of Anne, daughter to Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, and grand-daughter to Peter the Great, had, almost since his birth, continued in prison. He had been declared the royal successor to the crown of Russia; and his pretensions were so strong, that neither the empress Elizabeth, or either of her successors thought fit to intrust him with his liberty. It has been credibly given out, that the emperor Peter III. intended to have released him, had he not been prevented by deposition and death.

Tragical
death of
prince
Iwan in
Russia.

An. 1764. Iwan, by the empress Catharine II. had been removed from the usual place of his confinement to the castle of Schlusfelburg, at the time when she was preparing to set out on a progress to Mittau, the capital of Courland, with an intention, as was reported, to be present incognito at the election of Poniatowski, king of Poland, an incident which was thought to be very interesting to her. While she was at Mittau, an account arrived of the young prince's death in the following manner. A lieutenant, one Mirowitz, belonging to the regiment of Smolensko, desired, out of his turn, that he might be admitted to do duty in the castle of Schlusfelburg; which was granted him. About two in the morning, on the 15th of August, Mirowitz, all of a sudden, called up the main guard, formed it into a line, and ordered the soldiers to load with ball. Berenikoff, who was governor of the fortress, offering to interpose, Mirowitz presented to him a forged order from the empress, importing, that her majesty had formed the resolution of resigning the imperial crown of Russia, and of putting it on the head of prince Iwan, whom in conscience she was obliged to acknowledge as the lawful heir and sovereign of Russia; and that she therefore commanded the governor to set the prince at liberty.

Iwan, when he was committed to the castle of Schlusfelburg, had been put under the care of two officers, captain Wlassseiff and lieutenant Tchekin, who appear to have been veterans in the trade of murder, and to have had under them a guard appropriated to the custody of Iwan's person. Their orders were never to suffer him to depart alive out

out of his confinement, however plausible the pretext might be. The governor, upon Mirowitz producing his forged order, disputed its authenticity; upon which the other knocked him down with the butt end of his musket. The guard was attacked by Mirowitz, but he was repulsed; upon which he ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from the bastions, and planted against his opponents. The two keepers, pretending that they could not answer for the consequences, rushed into the apartment of the unfortunate prince, who seems to have been entirely ignorant of the attempt, and murdered him in his bed in the most inhuman manner.

To convince Mirowitz of Iwan's death, they exposed his body at the window, which struck Mirowitz with such dismay, that he instantly abandoned his purpose, and surrendered himself a prisoner into the hands of the governor and the two officers. This extraordinary instance of moderation was attended with suitable effects. The soldiers of the garrison, who, very possibly imagined, that the order Mirowitz produced was authentic, submitted likewise to their governor, who sent to Panin, one of the Russian counsellors, a relation of the attempt and assassination, which was communicated to the empress. She immediately ordered general Weymarn to take the necessary informations on the spot, in which there was no great difficulty, as Mirowitz freely confessed all he was charged with. She then referred the whole affair to the consideration of her senate; and to make the proceeding the more solemn, she ordered them to invite to their assistance the synod of the clergy, the three first classes,

An. 1764.

Mirowitz
con-
demned
and be-
headed.

Aⁿ. 1764. and the presidents of all the colleges. Mirowitz, of course, was condemned to death; six of the soldiers who had joined him, were punished by running the gantlope; and an officer who was privy to the design, was drowned in endeavouring to make his escape. It is said, that Mirowitz submitted to the block with great constancy and resignation. The court of Petersburg soon after published a relation, by authority, of the whole affair; but it was far from being satisfactory to the public. It was generally concluded, that the orders of the two keepers were to murder the prince, rather than that he should escape out of their hands, which joined with his innocence of the attempt, was thought to be inhuman and barbarous.

States of
Sweden

and Den-
mark.

It happened fortunately for the government of Russia, that, at the time of this melancholy event, all its neighbours were in a profound state of tranquillity. The Swedes were cultivating a new discovered fishery upon their coasts, and were in no condition to disturb the peace of the North. The king of Denmark, as usual, was employed in regulations for the internal good of his country. He had, with a noble zeal for the advancement of literature, sent five gentlemen, properly qualified, to make new discoveries in Egypt, Arabia, and other Eastern countries, and for collecting such curious manuscripts as could be found there, for illustrating geography and antient history. This expedition proved fatal to most of the adventurers, who died on their journey; but it was of service to literature by the manuscripts, inscriptions, and discoveries which they transmitted home. In the beginning

An. 1764.

ginning of September this year, an event of importance to Great Britain, because it strengthened the protestant interest in Europe, took place in Denmark by the marriage of the princess of Denmark with the hereditary prince of Hesse, which was solemnized with great magnificence at Copenhagen; after which the prince and princess set out for Hanau.

The empire of Germany was at the same time intent upon an affair of the utmost consequence to the rights of the princes who required a participation in the election of a king of the Romans. Ever since the days of the emperor Charles V. a dispute had subsisted, whether, agreeably to the constitution of the empire, a king of the Romans could be elected during the life of the reigning emperor. The point was partly settled by the treaty of Westphalia; it was afterwards unanimously agreed to in a general diet of the empire; and its contents first took place in the capitulation of the election of Charles VI. and was, on the vacancy of the Imperial throne, repeated in the following capitulations of election: It mentions three cases, which legitimate the election of a king of the Romans during the emperor's life. First, great age, or a continuing indisposition in the reigning emperor. Secondly, his long absence out of the German empire. Thirdly, a critical exigency, on which the preservation and welfare of the sacred Roman empire depends. The first fruits of the good understanding so lately restored between the empress-queen and her late enemies, particularly the king of Prussia, was their agreeing upon the

Difficulties in the election of a king of the Romans,

An. 1764. election of a king of the Romans, an object that some years ago had met with insurmountable difficulties, especially from the princes of the empire, upon the restoration of the tranquility of Germany in 1748. This important affair was again resumed by the court of Vienna; but tho' it met with no opposition from the electors, it was not without its difficulties. The archbishop of Mentz had convoked an electoral assembly to take the affair into consideration; and the minister of the bishop of Saltzburgh presented a remonstrance to the Imperial ministers at the diet at Ratisbon, concerning the rights of the college of princes. The answer returned was as follows: That his imperial majesty was then employed in finding out an expedient for the content and consolation of the princes of the empire, relating to the election of a king of the Romans, without prejudice to the electoral college; and consequently of such a nature as to avoid all disputes between them. This answer was far from being agreeable to many of the princes; but in March following they received an Imperial rescript from the electoral ambassadors at Franckfort, of their having come to a resolution to proceed to the election of a king of the Romans, on the third of that month. Upon this, the majority of the college, rather than give any farther opposition to so salutary a measure, presented their assent to the chief Imperial commissary; and the archduke Joseph was accordingly chosen and crowned with great solemnity, at Franckfort on the third of April.

At this time a treaty of marriage was on foot between the archduke Leopold of Austria and the infanta of Spain ; and on the 16th of February it was celebrated at the palace of Buen-Retiro by the prince of Asturias espousing his sister in the archduke's name. It remains for time to discover, whether those new connections will give any additional strength to the family-compact between the two great branches of the house of Bourbon. If we are to reason by appearances, neither of those powers are inclinable at present to avail themselves of that measure, so as to act offensively against Great Britain ; and any weight that the house of Austria may throw into it, can but little promote the apparent ends for which it was formed, we mean the reduction of Great Britain's influence in Asia and America, which she acquired by her extensive trade and formidable marine. The accession of the smaller branches that are in possession of the Italian states, even of Naples itself, can never give any uneasiness to Great Britain, when she maintains her superiority by sea in Europe ; nor is it easy to conceive how it can for many years operate otherwise than defensively against Great Britain, and that too only in case any ambitious scheme should be formed by the court of England upon the continent of Europe, to the prejudice of any of the contracting parties ; an event very unlikely to happen.

The state of Italy this year was truly deplorable, especially in the kingdom of Naples and the dominions of the church ; countries formerly celebrated for their fertility and salubrity. This calamity

An. 1764.

Marriage
between
Leopold
of Austria
and the
Infanta,

Famine
and
plague in
Italy,

mity

An. 1764. mity was owing to a terrible famine which prevailed in Italy, and reduced the inhabitants to great distress. His Catholic majesty, in pity to his former subjects, exerted himself wonderfully in their behalf, by supplying them from Spain with wheat, flour, and bisket. Those supplies, however, bore but little proportion to the numbers of the distressed objects; and tho' the pope ordered 300,000 crowns to be taken from the sacred treasure deposited in the castle of St. Angelo, yet the relief it brought to his subjects was not adequate to their distresses. Large commissions for buying up corn were sent all over Europe, especially to England; and it was thought that no less than 30,000 tons were imported into the kingdom of Naples alone. This importation was so far from removing, that it increased the miseries of the inhabitants. An infectious distemper broke out, and in less than six months above 572,000 persons died in that kingdom and a proportionable number in the territories of the church; nor were other parts of Italy exempted from the same terrible visitation. The numbers buried in churches threatened an immediate pestilence, and those inhumations were prohibited. The general voice was, that the infection had arisen, or rather had been, increased, through the noxious quality of the corn which had been imported; and it is said, that this opinion was confirmed by the physicians, who had examined the corn itself; but, perhaps, prepossession operated strongly upon the judgment both of the physicians and the public. It is certain that vast quantites of grain were thrown into the

attended
by a vast
mortal-
lity.

the sea to prevent the infection from spreading; and the chief blame of the fatal importation was thrown upon the English, to the great discredit of their country. An epidemical distemper, which broke out at the same time in Dalmatia (not to mention that a famine is generally accompanied by an infection) renders the cause assigned highly improbable; but the fury of the people admitted of no reasoning. The magistrates of Naples were obliged to give way to it, by imprisoning their corn merchants. The calamity spread to Sicily, once the granary of Europe; and the Syracusans, in a tumult, reduced the house of one of their principal magistrates to ashes, himself and family narrowly escaping with their lives. The violence of the distemper first abated in Naples and the great towns of that kingdom; and in the capital, about the middle of July, not above 100 persons buried in a day; but at last the infection gradually wore off.

Italy, at this time, enjoyed tranquility, but the Corsicans still refused to submit to the Genoese, who, finding themselves unable to subdue them, applied for that purpose to the court of France, which had formerly assisted them on the same occasion. In the beginning of April, 1764, the rebels had laid siege to Bastia, which the Genoese not being able to raise, it had recourse to that measure. They were the more alarmed, as the Corsicans had found means to fit out a number of armed vessels of force, sufficient to render the communication between Genoa and their own island very precarious. They had formed themselves into a regular government, and their aged chief, Paoli,

History of
the Corsi-
cans.

An. 1764:

who de-
feat the
Genoese:

proceeded with all the dignity and firmness of legal authority, by punishing crimes either against his government or private persons. He had coined money; he had disciplined his troops and established two councils, one for the marine, and the other for the land department. In short, they omitted nothing that could prove they were determined to maintain the freedom they had recovered. They had defeated Matra the Genoese general, who lost above 500 men in an action at Furiani; and they had intercepted some of the Genoese store-ships. They were by no means against submitting to any of the great powers in Europe, but they insisted upon terms, and these were, "A general suspension of arms; the erection of a free senate, consisting of twenty-four natives; exemptions from all taxes and other charges for twenty one years, to give the country time to recover: that the Corsicans shall be considered as naturalized subjects in all the dominions of the prince who may at any time be chosen, declared, and acknowledged king of Corsica." The Genoese had applied to the court of Vienna for assistance, but received no favourable answer, as they were in no condition to reimburse the expences of an expedition against so brave and determined a people. The court of England had ordered a proclamation, prohibiting its subjects from assisting them; and the other powers of Europe, his Sardinian majesty especially, seemed solicitous to clear themselves from the suspicion of having any connections with them. But notwithstanding all those appearances, it is more than probable that they had foreign correspondence, and the

An. 1764.

the Genoese minister presented some memorials on that head, particularly one, complaining of the subjects of Holland having supplied the malecontents of Corsica with warlike stores. It is remarkable, that all this while the Genoese government were publishing in their Gazettes, most magnificent accounts of victories which their ships and troops had obtained over those rebels.

The first certainty of the convention concluded between the French and the Genoese, was published in August, on the 7th of which month it was signed at Compiègne. It imported in substance, that his most Christian majesty should send seven battalions of his troops into Corsica, to stay there four years, and occupy Bastia, St. Florent, Algagliola, and Ajaccio; that these troops should not be engaged in the war, but only be employed in securing to the republic the possession of these places; that his most Christian majesty should furnish them their pay, and bread and meat; but the island should find them fire, candle, forage, and lodging; that the republic should be at no other expence than the stipulated subsidy; that in the places, which the French troops should occupy, there should be no Genoese, and that the republic's representatives there should take cognizance only of civil affairs; that if by the presence of these troops in the island, peace should be restored, the most Christian king should be a guarantee to it; that they should be transported from France about the end of September, under convoy of two frigates and two xebecs, after which these frigates

Convention
between the
French
and Ge-
noese.

An. 1764. and xebeques should continue to cruize on the coast of Corfica till the month of December. While this negociation was upon the carpet, some of the Corfican officers had been bribed by the enemies of Paoli, tho' eighty years of age, to assassinate him. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators were carried before the aged chief, who behaved towards them with amazing magnanimity. He told them, that tho' they had forfeited their lives by conspiring against him, yet they were at liberty to depart and to examine themselves, whether from that moment he deserved their enmity; and that, if they could prove a single article of a criminal charge against him, he was ready to submit.

Magnanimity of Paoli.

The French sent to Corfica.

The malecontents were besieging San Fiorenço, when they had the first account of the convention concluded between the Genoese and the French. They immediately raised the siege, and retired to the inland parts of the country, that they might the more securely lay the plan of their future operations. Previous to this, and to give their party the greater consistency, they renewed the military oath that was taken by Paoli and his adherents in the year 1754, and which, considering their circumstances, is drawn up with a spirit scarcely to be paralleled in history *. They then resolved to esta-

* " We have sworn, and die than enter into any negotiation with the republic of Genoa, or return under its yoke.

establish a military committee, to be chosen out of the several districts of the island, which was to inspect and enforce the regulations which they had agreed upon, especially those forbidding all communication between the free inhabitants of Corsica, and those of the places belonging to the Genoese. They next resolved to prohibit the French from coming into their island on any pretext whatever; and that all proposals for peace with the Genoese should be rejected, unless they agreed to the preliminaries proposed in the general assembly held at Casinca in 1761. Paoli by the same resolutions was authorized respectfully to represent to his most Christian majesty, in the name of the whole country, the injury he was doing to the free Corsicans, by sending his troops thither at the time they were on the point of driving their enemies out of their island. Lastly, they resolved, that Paoli should be charged to apply to the powers in friendship with Corsica, for their mediation with his most Christian majesty, and to implore their

yoke. If the powers of Europe, and the French in particular, withdrawing their compassion from an unhappy people, should arm themselves against us, and concur in our total destruction, we will repel force by force; we will fight like desperate men, determined either to conquer or die, till our strength and spirits being quite exhausted, our arms fall out of our hands;

and when we have no strength to take them up again, when all the resource of our courage shall be exhausted, our despair shall furnish us with the last, which shall be to imitate the famous example of the Saguntines, by rushing voluntarily into the fire, rather than submit ourselves, and our posterity, to the insupportable yoke of Genoese tyranny and slavery."

protec-

An. 1764.

protection in defence of their rights and liberties. The public is not informed whether any such applications were ever made, but it is certain that the French court was at great pains to convince those of London and Turin, that the convention was merely defensive, and such as was entirely consistent with the laws of nations. Towards the end of November, the first division of the French troops set sail, under the marquis de Marbeuf; and by the 21st of January following, they were in possession of all the posts belonging to the Genoese. It remains for time to discover, whether any secret articles, which have not come to the knowledge of the public, are annexed to this convention.

Affairs of
Poland.

We have already mentioned the preparations making in Poland for the election of a king, and that count Poniatowski's pretensions were favoured by the empress of Russia and the king of Prussia, the two powers principally concerned in the event of the election. The courts of Vienna and Versailles could not with indifference see a prince so strongly supported raised to that throne, especially as he was personally possessed of all the virtues and qualifications necessary for reviving the antient glory of the Polish nation. France for some centuries past had, with great care and industry, cultivated an interest at the Porte superior to any other European power; and this policy had been of infinite service to her in her disputes with the house of Austria and the empire of Germany. The empress-queen was apprehensive of the consequences of
a strict

a strict union among those three powers, and omitted nothing to raise an opposition to Poniatowski; nor were there wanting several great Polish families, who aspired to the regal dignity, even after count Czartorinski, perhaps the most powerful subject in Poland, had dropt his pretensions. This opposition was headed by prince Radzivil and count Branitzki. The former was chief of one of the most illustrious families in Europe, and being possessed of an uncontrouled authority over his numerous vassals and dependents, could raise upon his own estates a considerable body of troops.

An. 1764.
Opposition to the election of Poniatowski

Branitzki was a still more formidable opponent by the office he held of crown-general, which put him at the head of the army. The empress of Russia, to support the freedom of the election, as she pretended, had ordered a body of troops to advance to the neighbourhood of Warsaw. This gave a pretence for Branitzki and his party to allege, that no election could be free if it was over-awed by foreign troops. They were joined by the Saxon party, which, notwithstanding the death of the late elector, continued to be powerful and numerous. Tho' they were not considerable enough to place one of their own princes upon the throne, yet they found means to dissuade several of the Palatines from entering into any formal association for choosing a Pfaltz; and thus in fact, they formed a third party, but appeared more inclinable to favour Radzivil than Poniatowski. The warmth with which animosities are carried on in Poland soon terminated in hostilities, and a sharp skirmish hap-

by Branitzki and Radzivil;

An. 1764. pened at Posen in Great Poland between the Saxon and Poniatowski parties, in which above 400 were killed on both sides.

The Polish diet assembled.

The archbishop of Gnesna, who, during the interregnum convokes the diet, regulates their sessions, appoints inferior officers, and acts with an authority little inferior to royal, a wise, moderate, but resolute prince, favoured the election of a Piast. The empress of Russia published manifestoes; declaring, that her sole intention in ordering her troops to march into Poland was to preserve the freedom of the election; that they had orders to behave in the most regular and inoffensive manner, and to pay for every thing they had in the country. All those precautions restored the public to such tranquillity, that on the 7th of May the diet was opened without any mischief, and the marshal's staff put into the hands of prince Adam Czartorinski, cousin german to count Poniatowski, the Russian troops being drawn up in such a manner as to secure the freedom of the election without over-awing the electors. Notwithstanding this, several great lords in opposition to Poniatowski, put their hands upon their sabres, and withdrew from the assembly, to which count Branitzki did not come. Those noblemen, with the counts Branitzki and Malachowski, the marshal of the preceding diet, at their head, drew up a formal protest against the validity of the diet, which they still pretended could not be free while the Russian troops continued in the neighbourhood; and they accused them of having already committed several acts that

Its proceedings.

that were infringements of the liberties of Poland and the election. Twenty-two senators and forty-five nuncios signed this protest or manifesto, which was entirely disregarded by the diet. As the Russian troops in fact had behaved in the most inoffensive manner, the diet declared count Branitzki to be divested of his post of general of the crown army. He denied that the members had any power to take such a step, and he ordered his troops to rendezvous near Lublin. The diet having intelligence of his intention, and that the count was daily strengthening his army with new levies, ordered a part of their own troops and a detachment of Russians to march after them, and to observe his motions.

The diet, in the mean time, proceeded to dispatch the business previous to the election; and such was the zeal of its members against the protestants, that they resolved unanimously, ‘ That the constitutions made against the protestants in 1717, 1733, and 1736, should be put in execution: that no protestants should possess any thing whatever, except what may belong to them by hereditary right: and that all protestants may be legally prosecuted, who should possess any thing contrary to the law.’ This violence against the protestants was equally unjust and impolitic on the part of the diet, and added greatly to the strength of Branitzki’s party. The constitution of Poland is such, that it is almost impossible for the Poles to maintain it without the intervention of a foreign force. Had it not been for the Russian troops, it is probable that Branitzki and Radzivil might have stood

Severities
against
the pro-
testants.

An. 1764. their ground; but the Russian discipline obliged them every where to give way, without their having any reason to complain that violence had been offered to the freedom of the diet. Branitzki retired towards Hungary, and the wise measures taken by the primate prevailed on many of the officers of the crown troops to return to their duty under prince Czartorinski, grand regimentary.

The insurgents defeated.

Branitzki being thus driven to a state of despair, centered all his hopes now in being supported by the Turks, in the efforts made by prince Radzivil in the field, and in those of the Imperial and French ambassadors in the diet. The Turks, however, made no motions in his favour, and the Russians, with the troops of the diet under prince Dolgorouki, kept Radzivil in such awe, that he retired towards Slonim, a little town in Lithuania. There the Russians overtook the prince, and a smart engagement ensued, in which it is said the young and beautiful princess Radzivil signalized herself in the foremost ranks, fighting by her husband's side with her sabre; and tho' their party was obliged to retire, yet they did it in good order, and the princess was received according to her rank and quality at Breslau, tho' it was publicly known his Prussian majesty was far from approving of the party which her husband had embraced.

The French ambassador retires from Warsaw,

The general unanimity of the Poles in favour of count Poniatowski, was not to be resisted by Branitzki or Radzivil, powerful as they were, and their opposition was now considered as the effects of disappointed ambition. Their retreat from Warsaw had left the diet in a manner unanimous; for most
of

of the senators who had joined their party, were now returned to their duty. The marquis de Paulmy d'Argenson, the French ambassador, seized hold of the absence of the few members who had embraced their party, to dispute the legality of the diet, and he received instructions from France accordingly. In an abrupt manner he demanded audience of the primate, to which he was admitted, and both continued standing, the primate having received an intimation of his intention. The ambassador produced his dispatches, by which he was ordered to return to France, and to absent himself during the inter-regnum, as his master did not think it proper he should reside there with a party, and not with the republic at large, to which alone he had been sent. This speech was, in fact, a disavowal of the diet's authority, and had been pronounced in presence of many of its members, whom his highness had desired to attend him on the occasion. The primate answered with great dignity, that he was sorry the ambassador's orders were of such a nature, as to prevent his treating him with the respect due to his public character; but that he and the French resident, Monsr. Hemin, were at liberty to leave Poland when they pleased. Upon some farther conference the primate treated the ambassador only as Monsr. de Paulmy, and the ambassador addressed the primate only as archbishop. This interview, and the little ceremony with which it was carried on, was a proof what small influence the French ministry had now in a nation, where their ambassadors, in former times, used to give law,

An. 1764. and where the will of their master sometimes governed the resolutions of the diet.

During these transactions, the Polish male-contents found refuge and protection in the Turkish dominions, where the Imperial and French ministers had been very assiduous in representing the election at Warsaw in a light very unfavourable to the interests of the Turkish empire. The Poles now applied themselves with great assiduity to the affairs of the diet, tho' the imperial ambassador had likewise withdrawn himself from Warsaw. On the 3d of September the diet consulted upon the PACTA CONVENTA, or Fundamental Compact, which they were to require their future king to ratify. Such is the attachment of the Poles to their antient usages, that, during the debate, even points of dress became serious matters. All difficulties being at last surmounted, the Russian and Prussian ministers recommended, in form, count Stanislaus Poniatowski as a proper person to fill up the throne of Poland. The election sermon was preached by a bishop, and on the 7th of September he was chosen king, by the name and title of Stanislaus Augustus king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania. Perhaps the election of no prince was ever made upon more constitutional principles, as nothing was omitted in the Pacta Conventa that could bring back the government of Poland to its first principles, or to guard against the crown, from being elective, becoming hereditary. The diet of election, tho' it lasted twelve days, and consisted of six hundred nuncios, all attended with numerous retinues, passed without the

Ponia-
towski e-
lected
king of
Poland.

least disorder; and the ministers of the princes who espoused count Poniatowski's cause were early in their acknowledgments. The letter of congratulation, written by the king of Prussia, is a master-piece of the kind; and its composition would do the greatest honour to that monarch's genius, was it not conceived in a style more proper for a pupil than an equal *. His Polish majesty, since his election, has been recognized by all the courts that either befriended or did not oppose it, and has fully answered the high expectations that had been conceived of him while a candidate. He has endeavoured to extinguish that luxury and indolence to which the Poles, even by the forms of their government, are so much subjected. He sets up the English nation to his people as the patterns

* "Your majesty must reflect that as you enjoy a crown by election, and not by descent, the world will be more observant of your majesty's actions than of any other potentate in Europe; and it is but reasonable. The latter being the mere effect of consanguinity, no more is looked for (tho' much more is to be wished) from him, than what men are endowed with in common; but from a man exalted, by the voice of his equals, from a subject to a king, from a man voluntarily elected to reign over those by whom he was chosen, every thing is expected that can possibly deserve and

adorn a crown. Gratitude to his people is the first great duty of such a monarch, for to them alone, (under Providence) he is indebted that he is one. A king, who is so by birth, if he acts derogatory to his station, is a satire only on himself; but an elected one, who behaves inconsistent with his dignity, reflects dishonour also on his subjects. Your majesty, I am sure, will pardon this warmth. It is the effusion of the sincerest regard. The amiable part of the picture is not so much a lesson of what you ought to be, as a prophecy of what your majesty will be."

An. 1764. of industry, and imports English manufactures and commodities, that he may give his subjects some idea of the arts by which Great Britain has attained to her present greatness.

Prince
Frederic
of Eng-
land elec-
ted bishop
of Osnaburg;

Notwithstanding the good offices of the Imperial court to compose the differences between his Britannic majesty and the chapter of Osnaburg, which, agreeable to the provision made by the treaty of Munster, elected his Britannic majesty's second son Frederic to be their bishop and sovereign, differences on that head were now revived. As that prince was yet in his cradle, the elector of Cologne, being metropolitan of Osnaburg, controverted the pretensions of the chapter of that bishopric to the administration of spiritual affairs during the minority of the prince bishop, and nominated to exercise the said administration on his part, the honorary bishop of Ahausen, with the title of pontifical vicar, and the dean and canon Charles de Vogelius, with that of vicar general; ordering all the inhabitants and subjects of the bishopric to acknowledge them as such, upon pain of ecclesiastical censure. This claim of the elector was entered rather for the form of preserving his privilege as metropolitan, than from any hopes of its succeeding; but a more serious dispute succeeded between the chapter of Osnaburg and his Britannic majesty, who, as father and guardian to the prince bishop, claimed the temporal administration and presentation of the comital suffrage in the diet of the empire. The Hanoverian ministry published a strong memorial on this subject, in which they brought various precedents to establish the right of admi-

disputes
thereon.

administration in his majesty's person. The chapter of Osnaburg distributed to the members of the diet at Ratisbon, before whom the disputes were now brought, a reply to this memorial, tending to prove, that the regency of Osnaburg belongs to the chapter during the minority of the bishop, and likewise during the vacancy of the see. They pretended that in former times, the emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, had a right to provide against such minority; and that since his right was extinguished, the same authority had devolved upon the pope, through whom the chapter possesses it from custom, their own privilege, and the perpetual capitulation, from which it has not derogated, excepting that the perpetual capitulation has assured to the minor bishop a pension of 8000 crowns, and the right of retaining near the regency two of his officers, in quality of counsellors. The chapter then proceeded to destroy the parity alledged by the Hanoverian memorial to subsist between the present and former minorities and vacancies; and to shew that they were settled under the mediation of the emperor.

This dispute, which in the two former reigns would have become a parliamentary consideration in England, was in this confined entirely to Germany. The memorial of the chapter was answered by baron Gemmingen, the electoral minister of Brunswick; in another memorial, vindicating the principles on which the measures of his Britannic majesty were founded, when a regency was established during the minority of the prince bishop. There the affair stands at present; but there is little

An. 1764. the doubt of the evangelical body approving of the arrangements that have been made by his Britannic majesty. We must now attend to affairs in which England is more immediately concerned.

Smug-
gling sup-
pressed.

As the ministry set out upon a professed principle, not only of œconomy, but improvement, of the public revenue, they took into their consideration the best method of suppressing the practice of smuggling, which had arrived to a height that greatly affected the national finances. The number of cutters and other vessels that had been fitted out for the suppression of this pernicious practice had been attended with excellent effects, not only from the vast number of seizures they made, but as being so many provisions for deserving sea-officers upon half pay, and providing and keeping up a body of seamen for the use of the government; but they were not sufficient for the extinction of the evil. The Isle of Man, the property of which belonged to the duke of Athol, and was not subject to the Custom-house laws, lay so conveniently for the purposes of smuggling, that it defeated the utmost vigilance of the government, and the evil was daily encreasing, so as to be severely felt by the officers of the revenue in England. So far back as the seventh and eighth years of the reign of king George I. acts of parliament had been made for preventing such illegal and destructive practices; but they were ineffectual for that purpose. The government then entered into a treaty for purchasing the property of this island, or such a right over it, as might deprive the smugglers of the haunts and conveniencies they

had

had for carrying on their frauds ; but this expedient likewise proved ineffectual for private reasons, which are foreign to this history. Upon the death of the late duke of Athol, the treaty was renewed with greater probability of success ; but in the mean while the lords commissioners of the treasury took the matter into their most serious consideration, by representing to the king and council, that the endeavours they had used for improving his majesty's revenue of customs, and preventing the many frauds committed, especially in the out-ports of this kingdom, were greatly obstructed by the present state of the Isle of Man, from whence a pernicious and illicit trade was carried on to the neighbouring coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, in violation of the laws of this country, and to the great detriment and diminution of the public revenue.

Upon this representation, his majesty, by the advice of his privy-council, published an order, signifying his intentions, that the laws should be strictly put in execution against smuggling, particularly on the neighbouring coasts of the Isle of Man ; in consequence whereof, the lords commissioners of the Admiralty were to station a number of ships and cutters, under the command of discreet officers, in the harbours, and on the coasts of that island, in order to carry his majesty's intentions into execution ; and the government of Ireland were likewise to give such directions for carrying his majesty's intentions into execution, as to them might respectively appertain. In consequence of this proclamation, his Britannic ministers at foreign courts notified in the countries where they resided,

The Isle of Man purchased by the government.

AN. 1764. resided, that his majesty being determined to suppress the illicit trade carried on in the Isle of Man, would for the future pay no attention to the complaints of the merchants of any nation whatever, whose effects sent to the Isle of Man to evade the customs should be seized and confiscated. Those intimations were attended with suitable effects, the parliament itself entering into the views of the ministry, by authorizing them to purchase from the most noble proprietor of the island all the sovereignty in it that he could claim; and the bargain being concluded, an act of parliament passed for that purpose, and received the royal assent.

History
of the
German
emi-
grants,

In September this year, the public of England was presented with a new opportunity of exercising that charity which has always distinguished it from the rest of the world, even towards their enemies. An officious German colonel, pretending authority from the British ministry, engaged about six hundred protestant Wurtzburghers and Palatines to emigrate from their own country, with a promise of settling them in the Islands of St. John and Le Croix in America. Being unable to perform his contract, he abandoned them after they had been shipped for England; and upon their arrival at London, they were in danger of perishing through want. About four hundred of them who had defrayed their passage, were suffered to come on shore, 'where some of them lay (to use the words of the reverend divine * who so compassionately

* Mr. G. A. Wachsel, minister of the German Lutheran church, in Ayliffe-street, Goodman's-fields.

published their case, and was highly instrumental in their relief) during heavy rains in the open fields adjacent to the metropolis, without covering, without money, and, in short, without the common necessaries of life; others lie languishing under the complicated evils of sickness and extreme want, while the two hundred who were left on board the ship were starving for want of food, and rotting with filth and nastiness.' Their distresses were aggravated by other severe calamities, which were represented by the reverend gentleman in his address to the public in their behalf; in which he observed, that these wretched beings would think themselves extremely happy, if the British government would be graciously pleased to take them under its protection, to allow them for the present some ground to lie on, tents to cover them, and any manner of subsistence, till it should be thought proper to ship them off, and settle them in any of its colonies in America; where, he doubted not, they would give their protectors and benefactor constant proofs of their affection and gratitude for such kindness; but that they had no friend who had interest enough to intercede effectually for them, or even knew the proper method of application.

Upon the publication of this moving address, a personage of the highest rank ordered a hundred tents to be furnished, with all necessaries, from the Tower to the miserable objects, and that the passage of all those on ship-board should be paid before night; which was accordingly done. This benevolence was attended with a bounty of three hundred

who are
generously
relieved.

An. 1764. hundred pounds from the same royal hand, and generously seconded by private charities in proportion. Not an hour was lost in relieving them. Money flowed in from all hands; subscriptions were opened by public-spirited gentlemen at the principal bankers and coffee-houses in the city; and it is to the honour of the present times, that above four hundred guineas (not to mention the many great and charitable donations that came by the like channels) were sent from one coffee-house. A physician of eminence, a surgeon, and a man-midwife, attended them gratis; and their situation in a very few days became more comfortable than probably they had ever experienced in their native country. The gentlemen who had been the principal instruments, after Mr. Wachsel, of making their case known to the public, formed themselves into a committee, and far from confining their benevolence to a temporary relief, they applied themselves properly to know the royal will as to the future disposal of the emigrants. A most gracious answer was returned by one of the secretaries of state, that his majesty intended they should be settled in South Carolina, and had ordered they should receive one hundred and fifty stands of arms for their defence.

and sent
to Ame-
rica.

In the mean time, the German colonel * who had decoyed and abandoned them, ventured to come

to

* He had been a captain in the British Legion during the late war, and being a soldier of fortune, offered himself to the Prussian service on the conclusion of the late peace; and was told, that if he could raise a regiment, he should

to England, where he found the ministry enraged at his officiousness, and at his having exceeded the powers that had been given him, which were now cancelled. He endeavoured to make an apo-

An. 1764.

should have the command of it. This he undertook to do; and, by making a tour through Holland, where he had formerly been an officer, acquainting himself with the subaltern officers, and making himself agreeable to the men, he seduced many to desert, and some to enter volunteers, with promises of good encouragement. With these and some other recruits, disbanded soldiers, and idle young fellows, he presented himself to prince Ferdinand, who recommended him to his Prussian majesty, and he received his commission; but the peace, which soon followed in Germany, again reduced him to the necessity of applying elsewhere, and he came over to England, and solicited employment in the English service. This could not be granted to a foreigner, when so many natives were dismissed; but on his boasting of the numbers of his countrymen he could carry over to our new settlements, provided a suitable tract of land was allotted him, the ministry was prevailed upon to grant his re-

quest, and a patent was actually made out at the proper offices for that purpose.

With this grant he returned to Germany, and by the credit of it, and the advantageous offers he made to some young gentlemen, who had credit with the common people, he prevailed with them to engage in the same project. Having so far succeeded, an association was formed, and these joint-adventurers were active in the prosecution of it: by every where giving out what fortunes were to be raised, and estates acquired in the new settlements, many people of wealth were prevailed upon to sell their effects, and transport themselves, at their own expence, into America. The poor who offered, were either neglected, or referred from one to the other for the promised encouragement, till their number encreased so fast, and their importunities became so pressing, that no other expedient remained but to ship them for England, and leave them to the mercy of government.

An.1764. logy for his conduct, but it was not received, and having run himself into debt, he thought it most prudent to disappear. The sums collected for their relief were far more than sufficient to deliver them from their present distresses, and the same gentlemen we have mentioned published an advertisement, which is recorded here as an unexampled memorial of British charity and generous foresight *. Every thing being now prepared for their embarkation, they broke up their camp in the fields

* Wanted two ships, of not less than two hundred tons burden, to carry the poor Palatines to South Carolina; not more than two hundred persons in each ship. To be ready to sail in ten days.—The necessaries that are expected to be provided, as follows:—1 lb. of bread, of 16 ounces, for each person, men, women, and children, every day.—1 man, 1 woman, and 3 children to a mess.—Sunday, for each mess, a piece of beef, 4 lb. flour, 3 lb. fruit, or suet, half a pound; and a quart of peas.—Monday, stockfish, 3 lb. butter, 1 lb. cheese, 1 lb. potatoes, 3 lb.—Tuesday, 2 pieces of pork, 6 lb. rice, 2 lb.—Wednesday, grits, 5 lb. butter, 2 lb. cheese, 2 lb.—Thursday, the same as Sunday, only potatoes instead of peas.—Friday, grey peas, 2 quarts; butter, 2 lb. cheese,

2 lb.—Saturday, flour, 2 lb. fruit, half a pound; potatoes, 2 lb. butter, 2 lb. cheese, 2 lb.—Sufficient vinegar, pepper, and salt every day.—A ton of water for every three persons.—Six quarts of good ship beer, each mess, for the first three weeks; and for the remainder of the voyage, a pint of British spirits each day.—Medicines, and a doctor to each ship, provided by the committee.—Half the freight to be paid before sailing from Gravesend; the other moiety at their delivery at South Carolina; deducting one half of the second payment for every person that dies on their passage.—All exceeding fourteen years on the first of September to be deemed whole passengers. All under that age two to be deemed as one passenger.—Security will be required for the exact performance of the contract.

behind

behind White-Chapel church, and some of the gentlemen of the committee, together with the reverend Mr. Wachsel, attended them to the ships, while tears of gratitude flowed from their eyes, and they went on board singing hymns of thanksgiving in praise of their generous benefactors, whose charity enabled the committee even to make some provision for them after their landing in America. An. 1764.

There was the greater merit in this noble charity, as the poor of England at this time laboured under excessive hardships through the dearness of provisions; nor were there wanting many who blamed the charity given for the relief of the German emigrants, while so many English were distressed for bread. It soon appeared that the relief which had been afforded them was a national concern, and that they had been decoyed into England under the specious pretext of the good faith of the British ministry *. We may add to this, that the laws of England provide sufficiently for her own poor, even without the assistance of private charity,

* The following advertisement appeared in the *Hague Gazette*.—"One J. H. C. de Stumpel, who styles himself a colonel in the service of the king of Great Britain, having engaged a number of persons to go into England, upon assurances which he gave them, that he was authorised by his Britannic majesty to promise them settlements in America; and that they should be car-

ried there at the king's expence: in order to prevent his continuing to impose upon the credulity of the public in this respect, it is thought proper to advertise, that the said Stumpel was never authorised, as he pretends, to engage people for those settlements, nor to make any promises on the part of the British ministry."

An. 1764. which is far from being the case with regard to destitute foreigners.

An enquiry into the cause of the high price of provisions.

The public outcry at the dearth of provisions in a time of profound peace and after plentiful harvests was so great, that the remedy became a parliamentary consideration. Some of the most considerable butchers and victuallers of ships in and about London were ordered to attend a committee of the House of Commons, who sat upon this occasion in March; and they unanimously agreed, that the best beef at that time cost the vender three pence a pound, which was about one half-penny dearer than it had generally been at that time of the year. This prodigious rise brought on other enquiries, which terminated much to the same purpose; and it was found that the price of butcher's meat was dearer than it had been during the heat of the late war; but the event of all the enquiries ended in fixing the causes upon the salesmen; upon which they were sent for and examined. At first, they laid the cause upon the vast increase of population within the bills of mortality, which had rendered the demand of provision excessive. This account not being satisfactory, they pretended that the rise was owing to the late scarcity of pork in the markets, which had necessarily increased the price of every other species of animal food; because the whole demand acted upon the whole quantity of the different sorts of provisions, as upon one and the same subject. They complained that the wetness of the season, and the scarcity of fodder in the year 1762, with other natural causes, had reduced the quantity of fat cattle, by discouraging the farmers from rearing them. None

An. 1764

None of those reasons, however, were found sufficient to account for the evil complained of; and the result of the inquiry was, that the scarcity was artificial, and raised by combinations, and the defect of the laws regulating the sale of cattle in the open markets. This practice, tho' endeavoured to be stifled and concealed from the knowledge of the public, was an alarming consideration. It was proved that a few engrossers of cattle, either by themselves or other agents, bought up large quantities of sheep and oxen on the road to the market, and thereby fixed the price for that day, while other persons bought up great numbers of sheep and oxen; and after they were slaughtered put what price they pleased upon them to the retail butchers; and that provisions were thus doubly forestalled. It was evident that those practices were confined to the London markets, because during the greatest scarcity of provisions in London, they sold at a very reasonable price within thirty miles of that metropolis. Notwithstanding the great attention paid by the parliament to this important affair, yet the remedy of it was still precarious; and a bill passed for enabling his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, to order the free importation of provisions from Ireland during the recess of parliament, or, as the necessity of the time may require.

In October following the merchants of London petitioned his majesty concerning the high price of provisions: upon which a council was immediately called, and their evidence being there examined, a proclamation was issued for permitting the free im-

High im-
portation
of provi-
sions al-
lowed.

An. 1764. portation of salted beef, salted pork, bacon and butter, from Ireland into England, provided the same be landed in any of the ports of England, until, on, or before the 31st of December next. And in order to prevent all unlawful combinations for the enhancing the price of provisions, and for an encouragement to all who shall discover any concerned in such illegal practices, and bring the offenders to conviction, his majesty promised that all persons who shall discover, and cause such offenders to be convicted, shall be entitled to a reward of one hundred pounds.

Commercial duties refunded.

The noble lord who had the glory of commanding the British arms at the reduction of the Havannah, had, as is usual in those cases, when the national acquisitions of Great Britain are not reduced to any settled form of civil government, imposed certain duties upon the British merchants during the time his majesty's troops possessed that city. Upon the conclusion of the peace, the merchants applied to his lordship to have the money refunded; and he made a tender of it, to the amount, as is said, of fifty thousand pounds, clear of all deductions, to the lords of the treasury, who refused to receive it, or to defend any action that might be brought for levying those duties, thinking perhaps, that however they might be warranted by custom, they were not authorized by the laws of England. The money then was paid to the claimants, but with the heavy deduction of sixteen per cent.

The constitution of the militia of England had for some years engaged the public attention, and
expe-

experience proved, that the profession of an officer in his majesty's regular troops is not necessary for qualifying a gentleman to serve his country in the field, and that the English artizans and labourers, of all people in the world, are the most easily brought into military discipline, when they are convinced of their national utility. Ever since the institution of the militia, its officers, who are generally country gentlemen, qualified only by property to hold their commands, and unconnected with the army, had formed their battalions into such excellent order, that they vied both in discipline and appearance with the best veterans in the military service. This could not be done without great attention of the legislature to the regular payment of the men; and such alterations of the former laws as were judged necessary by experience, particularly with regard to their cloathing, arms, and time of their service. Every year produced some amendments in those articles, and twenty thousand pounds on that account had been granted to his majesty, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the unembodied militia for one year, from the 21st of March 1762. In consequence of this, a bill had been brought in and passed in parliament this year, which gave many additional emoluments both to the officers and common men of the unembodied militia for the future *.

An. 1764.

Farther regulations of the militia.

See vol. iv.
p. 216.

When

* Where the militia is or shall be raised, but not embodied, the receiver general of the county shall issue four months pay in advance, according to the establishment of pay here set down; that is to say, for the pay of

An. 1764.

Dissentions in Pennsylvania.

While the government was thus employed in providing for the internal safety of England, their colonies in America were so much divided among themselves, that some of them threatened a dissolution of their establishments. The assembly of Pennsylvania differed with their government, as to the assessments to be made on the uncultivated lands of the proprietors, which the latter contended ought to be exempted from public taxations. The dispute at last ran so high, that the assembly unanimously voted that they would adjourn, in order to consult their constituents, whether an humble address should be drawn up and transmitted to his majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of the province under his immediate protection and government, by completing the agreement heretofore made with the first proprietor for the sale of the government to the crown. This resolution met with a vigorous

four calendar months in advance, at the rate of 6 s. a day for each adjutant; 1 s. each serjeant, with the addition of 2 s. 6 d. a day for each serjeant-major; 6 d. a day for each drummer, with the addition of 6 d. a day for each drum-major; 5 d. a month for each private man and drummer, for defraying contingent expenses; and also half a year's salary to the regimental and battalion clerks, at the rate of 50 l. a year, and allowances to the clerks of the

general and sub-division meetings, at the rate of 5 l. 5 s. for each general meeting, and 30 s. for each sub-division meeting; and pay for cloathing of the militia after the rate of 3 l. 10 s. for each serjeant, 2 l. for each drummer, with the addition of 20 s. for each serjeant-major, and each drum-major; and where the militia hath not already been cloathed, or not been cloathed within three years, 30 s. for each private man.

opposi-

opposition from some of the members at the next meeting of the assembly; but no decisive resolution has yet been taken by his majesty, tho' deputies were appointed for England on the part of the assembly.

We have already mentioned a congress opened on the 7th of September 1763, between Sir William Johnson and the Indians of the Six Nations, who appeared desirous of continuing in a peaceable dependence upon England. Those friendly Indians, however, could not prevent the Senecas and their allies from continuing their depredations and murders; and towards the end of October, an account came to Philadelphia of twenty-four people being murdered in Smithfield township by those savages, which rendered it necessary to prosecute the war against them with vigour. This had such an effect, that the Indians, under the command of Pondiack (one of their most noted chiefs) consisting of the Ottawas, Jibbeways, Windots, and Powtewatramies, having lost near one hundred of their best warriors, and being in want of ammunition, applied to major Gladwin the commandant at fort Detroit for peace. The major was far from discouraging this proposal, providing it was agreeable to the British commander in chief in North-America; but he insisted, as an earnest of their sincerity, upon their delivering up all the English prisoners in their custody, which they immediately did, to the number of seventeen, and impeached some of the inhabitants of Montreal of instigating them to the hostilities they had committed. This agreement was the more acceptable, because about

P. 274.
Some of
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sue for
peace,

An. 1764. seventy English were still languishing in the Indian towns under the wounds they had received in the late action with colonel Bouquet. About this time a most terrible misfortune happened to a fresh convoy from Niagara to Detroit, under the command of major Wilkins in boats. A violent storm overtook them, and eighteen were foundered in Lake Erie, with the loss of seventy brave men and some officers. The survivors expected the same fate every moment, as their battoes were more than half full of water, but they providentially escaped, tho' with the loss of their provisions and ammunition; and, after holding a council of war, they returned to Niagara.

Activity
of Sir W.
Johnson.

In the mean time, Sir William Johnson was indefatigable in reducing the rebellious savages to their duty. The friendly Indians were extremely useful and active in this service; and, in the beginning of March, near the main branch of the Susquehanna, they perceived a large party of the Delawares, who were enemies to the English, on their march to attack some of the neighbouring settlements. The friendly Indians immediately surrounded them, and delivered them up bound to Sir William Johnson. In Pennsylvania the frontier inhabitants continued to be pestered and cut off by the savages, and were at last rendered so desperate, that they even threatened to treat the quakers, who form the main body of that flourishing colony, in the same manner as if they were declared enemies, imagining that they encouraged and protected the savages. It is impossible to foresee how far those depredations would have

have been carried, had it not been for the activity of Sir William Johnson and colonel Bradstreet, who brought the Senecas, (one of the revolted tribes of the Iroquois, and the most inveterate enemies to the English) to a treaty at his house, at Johnson's hall. An. 1764.

Sir William appeared there on the third of April in the character of his majesty's sole agent and superintendant of Indian affairs for the northern parts of North-America, and colonel of the six united nations, their allies and dependents. The Seneca deputies attending at the same time, a treaty was drawn up and concluded, by which it was agreed, that the Seneca nation do immediately stop all hostilities, and solemnly engage never more to make war upon the English, or suffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence upon the persons or properties of any of his Britannic majesty's subjects: that they forthwith collect all the English prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen, and negroes amongst them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnson (together with the two Indians of Kanesto, who murdered the traders in November 1762) previous to the treaty of peace; and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any deserters, Frenchmen or negroes, nor hinder their being apprehended in any part of their country. That the lands from the fort of Niagara, extending easterly, along lake Ontario, about four miles, comprehending the Petit Marais, or landing place, and running from thence southerly, about fourteen miles, to the creek above fort Schlosser, or little Niagara, and down the same to the river or strait;

His treaty with the savages;

their boundaries settled.

An. 1764. strait; thence down the river or strait, and across the same at the great cataract; thence northerly to the banks of lake Ontario, at a creek or small lake about two miles west of the fort, and thence easterly along the banks of the great lake Ontario, and across the river or strait to Niagara, comprehending the whole Carrying-place, with the lands on both sides the strait, and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length and four in breadth, shall be ceded to his majesty and his successors for ever, in full right. And the Senecas do engage never to obstruct the passage of the Carrying-place, or the free use of any part of the said tract; and will likewise give free liberty of cutting timber for the use of his majesty, or that of the garrisons in any other part of their country not comprehended therein; that they allow a free passage through their country from that of the Caugas to Niagara, or elsewhere, for the use of his majesty's troops and subjects for ever: that should any Indian commit murder, or rob any of his majesty's subjects, he shall be immediately delivered up to be tried and punished according to the equitable laws of England; and should any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he shall be immediately tried, and punished, if guilty: for the due performance of the above and other articles, the Senecas were to deliver up three of their chiefs as hostages.

The treaty signed.

Sir William Johnson having properly engrossed the above articles, which were agreed to by the Seneca deputies, to whom they were explained, engaged by virtue of his full powers, that

the said Indians should have a full pardon for all past transgressions, and be left in the peaceable possession of all their rights not comprized in the foregoing articles; and on their subscribing to the definitive treaty of peace, they should once more be admitted into the covenant chain of friendship with the English; and be indulged with a free, fair and open trade, so long as they abide by their engagements.

Nothing now remained for the pacification of North-America, but to reduce the Delawares, Shawanese, Hurons of Sandusky, and other Indians of the countries between Lake Erie and the Ohio. For this purpose, colonel Bradstreet was ordered to advance with a considerable body of men from Niagara to the countries of those savages; and colonel Bouquet set out with another body for the same purpose, from Canada, intending to carry the war through their most remote habitations, if they did not submit in time. Those vigorous measures produced the proper effects; for when colonel Bradstreet arrived at Presque Isle, in August, deputies from the several nations above-mentioned met him, and a peace was concluded on the following terms: That within twenty-five days all the prisoners in the hands of the savages should be delivered up to him at Sandusky: that they should renounce all claim to the posts and forts possessed in their country by the English, who should be at liberty to erect as many more as should be thought necessary for the security of their trade, and with as much land to each fort, for raising provisions, as a cannon shot can fly over. As it was proper,

Another
treaty
with them
concluded
by colonel
Bradstreet.

if

An. 1764. if possible, to give those savages some idea of the English government, by another article it was provided, that if any Indian thereafter kill any Englishman, he should be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the English laws, only to have half the jury Indians; and if any one of the nations renew the war, the rest should join us to bring them to reason. It was likewise provided that six of the deputies should remain with the colonel as hostages, and the other four, with an English officer, and one of our Indians, should proceed immediately to acquaint those nations with these terms of peace, and forward the collecting of the prisoners, to be ready at the day appointed.

Expedition of colonel Bouquet against the Delawares and Shawanese.

The savages against whom Bouquet marched were more intractable. They consisted of the most barbarous and perfidious of the Delawares and Shawanese, who had broken the ties which even barbarous nations hold sacred among each other. Their treachery was emboldened by their situation among woods, which they boasted were inaccessible to the English. The regular and provincial troops under colonel Bouquet, having being joined by a good body of volunteers from Virginia, and others from Maryland and Pennsylvania, marched from Fort Pitt the beginning of October, and got to Tuscarawas about the 15th. The colonel's march threw them into such consternation, that after hovering for some time round his army, they proposed an accommodation. His answer was, that he could not treat till they had delivered up all their prisoners; and about twenty were instantly brought in by the savages, who promised to deliver

ver up the rest. Finding that no regard was paid to their promises, they fixed upon the 1st of November for delivering up the whole at the Forks of the Muskingham, about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near to the most considerable settlement of the Shawanese. The colonel followed them with his army to the place appointed, and obliged the Delawares, with some broken tribes of savages, to bring in all their prisoners, even to the children born of white women, and to tie or fetter those who were grown as savage as themselves, and unwilling to leave them, and bring them bound to the camp. They were then informed that they must send off deputies to Sir William Johnson, who was impowered to impose upon them the terms by which they might have peace, but which must be ratified by all their nations: in the mean while they were to leave with the colonel a certain number of their chiefs as hostages, that no hostilities should be committed during the dependence of the negotiation.

who are
subdued,

The Delawares and the broken savage tribes (some of whose names were scarcely ever known before by Europeans) agreed to those terms; but they were rejected by the Shawanese, and the colonel ordered his troops to advance into the heart of their country. This vigorous proceeding daunted the savages, and they consented to give up forty prisoners immediately, and to send the remainder in the spring to Fort Pitt. This last condition was again rejected by the colonel, because no faith was to be given to their promises; and the savages, who

and submit to
terms.

An. 1764. are naturally cowards, admitted into their towns detachments of the army, who collected the rest of the prisoners, the whole amounting to above two hundred, besides about one hundred more, who were expected from the more distant Shawanese towns. They then delivered to the colonel six of their chiefs as hostages, and named deputies, who were to proceed to Sir William Johnson. Those wise and resolute measures restored security to the British back-planters in North-America.

A convoy
robb'd.

Sir William Johnson purchased, at Philadelphia, a considerable quantity of English goods, which were, at the ratification of the general peace, to be distributed among the Indians at the expence of the government; and some private adventurers at the same time gave orders for a supply of the like goods to be trucked with the savages, the whole being loaded on eighty pack-horses. This great supply was intended not only to conciliate the friendship and affections of those Indian tribes, but to open again the channels of a commerce that had always proved beneficial to the English. This laudable measure was defeated by the English settlers themselves, in a manner that would have dishonoured the most brutal tribe of the savages. While the convoy was on its way to Fort Pitt, a number of disorderly people at Cumberland County attacked it in the woods, killed some of the horses, and plundered all the packs. Some of those banditti being apprehended by a small party of troops which was called from Fort Loudon, were rescued by their associates in the gang, and only three were carried prisoners to the fort. In

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was soon beset by the rioters, who threatened to storm it and to put every man within it to the sword, unless the three prisoners in it were set at liberty. The fort being untenable by so small a garrison, they were accordingly delivered up, upon their making a slight promise that they should appear at the next court. An. 1764.

The post of the Illinois being thought of importance for the protection of the back-settlers and the British traders towards the Ohio and the Mississippi, Major Loftus was ordered to proceed with the twenty-second regiment, consisting of about three hundred men, from Pensacola up the last mentioned river, and to take possession of the post. The distance was five hundred leagues, and the current was so rapid that they could not proceed ten miles a day. When they had got about seventeen leagues up the river, ten men were killed and as many wounded, by the Indians. They attempted to land, but were prevented by a smart fire from the savages; upon which the major having before lost fifty-seven men by desertion, thought proper to return to Pensacola. Complaints of this infringement of the peace were made to Mons. d'Abbadie the French governor of New Orleans, who disclaimed all knowledge of the attack, and pretended to order the Indians to desist from such for the future. It seems, however, probable, that those and other hostilities committed about this time against the British subjects in America, tho' not authorized by the court of France, or any of its governors, were prompted by French agents and Jesuits, the devoted enemies of all protestants, especially English.

Major Loftus obliged to return to Pensacola.

In

An. 1764.

Remark-
able obe-
dience of
the garri-
son at
Halifax.

In April the garrison of Halifax in Nova Scotia gave a signal proof of their obedience to military discipline. The same orders that had occasioned the Quebec mutiny, had been sent from general Gage at Montreal to major Hamilton, who commanded in garrison the fortieth regiment and a company of the royal artillery at Halifax. He ordered his men under arms upon their respective parades, and acquainted them with the orders (to which it is probable they were no strangers) telling them at the same time, they must be carried into immediate execution. The men presented a paper to their serjeant-major, which they required to be delivered to the major. It was penned in a manner and stile that does great honour to them, both as soldiers and subjects, and seems indeed to have been drawn up by no vulgar hand. They expressed their consciousness of having at all times faithfully discharged their duty to his majesty, “ and (continued they) considering ourselves after the war in a state of banishment, when we hoped to return home, the regiment having served upwards of forty years abroad, do acknowledge that we thought it hard to pay for provisions in a country where they had always been allowed, and where necessaries are so dear; and we were sorry to be under a necessity of declining the stoppage till his majesty’s pleasure was further known, which indulgence the general at first promised us. But having this day received his majesty’s final orders for the stoppages, with his most gracious promise of relief by rotation, we think it our indispensable duty most humbly to obey; and beg you would

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be pleased to acquaint the general, and his majesty's secretary at war, with our intentions."

An. 1764.

About this time the assembly of South Carolina had such disputes with their governor, that they drew up a petition against him to the king. The lords of trade had sent to that province a number of French protestants in the silk manufactory, and recommended them to be settled there. This was undoubtedly a most valuable acquisition to the colony; but the differences between the governor and the inhabitants for some time prevented any provision being made for the emigrants, till the common house of assembly voted them five hundred pounds. In July following general Gage wrote to the governor of that province a letter, recommending provision to be made for the Cherokee and Chichasah Indians, in order to prevail on them to intercept a convoy of supplies from the French to the Shawanese, Delawares, and the Indians of d'Etroit, and to assist his majesty's troops going up to the Mississippi. The council sometime before this message had rejected a tax bill, which had passed the house of assembly, for paying the debts of the province; and tho' they were not insensible of the justice and expediency of what had been recommended by general Gage, yet they made use of that rejection, as an argument for opposing his request, by alledging, that they could not consent to any encrease of the provincial expences; because the suppliers of the public, by the said rejection, must clearly perceive that their hopes of payment do not so much depend on the faith and honour of their natural representatives,

Disputes
between
the go-
vernor
and as-
sembly of
South
Carolina,

An. 1764. as upon the caprice and pleasure of the council, and very often even of a majority, of such as are altogether placemen, and have no natural tie or connection whatever with the province. On the 21st of August, however, the lieutenant-governor of South-Carolina gave his assent for laying a duty of about fourteen pounds fifteen shillings and ninepence sterling, equal to one hundred pounds currency on all negroes to be imported into the province, after the 1st of January 1766.

State of
the dis-
putes a-
bout the
stamp du-
ties in A-
merica.

About this time an universal spirit of dissatisfaction with the mother-country gained ground among all her colonists in America, and gave room for many dark suspicions, which the conduct of the assemblies there rather increased than allayed. Some of them went even so far as to dispute the right of Great Britain to tax them. They pretended that they were by the common law of England, which their predecessors carried with them to America, exempted from all taxations, but by their consent; that the grants of the crown intitled them to the same privilege; that their not being represented in the British parliament freed them from all such impositions; and that it was impracticable for the legislature to exercise jurisdiction in such a case. In the year 1764, when certain duties were imposed upon the colonies, to be applied for their own defence, the first lord of the Treasury in England, out of tenderness to the Americans, postponed the charging them with stamp duties, till the sense of their several assemblies could be taken, how far they were willing to make a compensation in any other form, for the revenue that such

See p.
341, 342.

a taxa-

a taxation might produce. This was so uncommon an instance of condescension, that the agents for the colonies residing at London thought it their duty to wait upon him as chancellor of the exchequer, and return him thanks in the name of their constituents; and he took that opportunity to inform them, that it was then in the power of the colonies, by agreeing to that tax, to establish a precedent for their being consulted for the future, before any tax was imposed upon them by the British parliament.

An. 1764.

This humanity was far from having the proper effect; for the colonists being informed of the chancellor's proposal, instead of complying, remonstrated; and, as we have already hinted, some of them actually sent over petitions to the king, lords, and commons, positively and directly questioning the power of the parliament, in imposing any tax that could affect the properties of the colonists; and tho' some of the provinces were more moderate in their remonstrances, yet they did not instruct their agents either to agree to the duty in question, or to offer any compensation to be exempted from it. Two of the agents only said, that they were instructed to consent, that their principals should bear their proportion of the duty; but they did not venture, when questioned, to say, that they were authorized to agree for any particular sum. All imaginable methods were taken to convince the colonists of their mistake before the matter came under a parliamentary consideration.

The colonists remonstrate against them.

An. 1764.

Argu-
ments a-
gainst the
taxation
answered.

It was unanswerably proved that the common law of England could object to no tax imposed by the British parliament. With regard to charters or grants of the crown, that of Pennsylvania (which has been always thought to be extremely favourable to the colonists) expressly reserved to parliament the power of taxing them; and the legislative assemblies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, are tied up from passing any acts that are repugnant, or not conformable, to the laws of Great Britain. The people of Maryland are the only British provincials in America, whose charter declares, "That the inhabitants shall not be subject to any impositions or taxes, but such as their house of burgesses shall consent to." But they were almost the only people in America who did not pretend to be exempted from parliamentary taxation. This acquiescence proceeded from a rational conviction, that the exemption expressed in their charter, tho' it limited the power of the prerogative, could not limit that of the parliament, which has exercised acts of legislature, over-ruling even the common law of England, in America. This was proved by an act of parliament passed in 1733, which abrogates so much of the common law as relates to the descents of freeholds in America, takes from the son the right of inheritance in the lands the crown had granted to the father and his heirs in absolute fee, makes them assêts, and applies them to the payment of debts and accounts contracted by the father, without the participation of the son. The same act sets aside the sort of evidence required by

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the common law, and established by every court of justice in America in proof of a debt, and enjoins the admission of an affidavit made *EX PARTE* by a person in Great Britain, before the chief magistrate of any corporation, as evidence equivalent to *VIVA VOCE* evidence in all courts of justice in the colonies. An. 1764.

Were any farther proof of the parliament's power over the colonies wanting, the mutiny and desertion bill, which renders the troops raised in America subject to the same pains and penalties as the British, might be instanced; as the American troops never were liable to those punishments before the first year of the late war.

The reasoning drawn against the American taxations, because the inhabitants are not represented in the British parliament, is equally absurd and dangerous, as it is certain that sixteen out of twenty parts of the people of Great Britain are not represented in parliament. Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, with many other opulent and populous places in England, might urge the same plea with much better grace. As to the impracticability or inconveniency of the British parliament taxing the American colonies, the latter argument was admitted; but as there was an indispensable necessity for the taxation, the imposing it by parliament was the only method that could answer the purpose, since the colonies could never agree among themselves about their several proportions of the duty, and the prerogative could not warrant the crown in insisting upon any specifical sum from each province.

An. 1764.

State of
the colo-
nies.

Such was the state of this most important question, at a time when the British colonies were in a more flourishing state than they ever had experienced. They owed to the merchants of London four millions sterling, and the latter were so ready and willing to give them farther credit, that some of the American legislatures (as appears by the tax, amounting almost to a prohibition, we have already mentioned imposed upon the importation of negroes into South Carolina) passed acts against incurring such credit for the future. This unbounded confidence of the British merchants, arose from their knowing that no provincial legislature had a power to bar them from recovering their property, even in the inmost recesses of America, and that no fraudulent investiture could evade the justice of the English laws. Upon the whole, however divided the British parliament was in other points, all the members concurred in not suffering the petition, which questioned their jurisdiction, to be read in the House of Commons. It was proposed on the part of the ministry, in order to mitigate matters, that the agents should join in a petition to the house, for their being heard by counsel in behalf of their respective colonies against the tax. But tho' a very favourable precedent might have thereby been established in favour of the colonies, the agents did not think themselves impowered to agree to such a petition. It remains for time to discover what effect this taxation may have in America; but it is certain that the British colonists on that continent are every day stretching their resentment against their mother country as far as they can, by

An. 1764.

encouraging manufactures of every kind in prejudice of those of Great Britain, and even by abridging themselves of the conveniences of life, that they may discourage the consumption of British commodities. We are now to return to the affairs of England.

During the session of parliament, some of the members who were in the highest posts in the army, thought proper to dissent from the ministry, especially in the great question of the legality of general warrants, and among others, lieutenant-general C. had distinguished himself, or at least it was so represented, in the opposition. The administration, with the chancellor of the exchequer at its head, had again and again insisted upon extirpating the practice of issuing such warrants from a secretary of state's office, and for making them illegal, while the opposition, as we have already seen, insisted upon declaring them so by a vote of one house of parliament, and the division ran so near, that the court carried the question only by fourteen voices, viz. two hundred and thirty-two to two hundred and eighteen. Had the question been decided in favour of the opposition, the monument of London was to have been illuminated in the same manner as it was in the year 1732, when the famous excise scheme was defeated, and the most triumphant rejoicings were to have been celebrated. As preparations for those purposes had been openly made, they were considered as so many insults upon government, and however the zeal of the citizens, or independent and uninformed persons might influence them, it was thought indecent in any of

Party divisions.

An. 1764. the king's servants to countenance such proceedings. The general officer already mentioned was represented as being an important acquisition to the minority, and of not only voting, but speaking in the most unguarded terms against the minister's person, and even his capacity for business. Whatever may be in those allegations, it is certain that the general was dismissed from his employments, both at court and in the army. Without presuming to descend into an examination on either of the justice or merits of this dismissal, it is certain that it was unpopular, and opened a wide field of accusation against the ministry. The general had been twenty-seven years in the service, and had been formed under, and approved of, by those great commanders, the duke of Cumberland and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. His conduct in a military capacity had been not only unexceptionable, but exemplary; and in the House of Commons he was considered as the ablest speaker of any officer in the army.

Argu-
ments in
his fa-
vour.

The dismissal of lord Cobham, the duke of Bolton, and the earl of Westmoreland in the late reign, was instanced by the friends of the ministry, as a precedent for that of the general; but said the friends of Mr. C. "That those officers were broken is certainly true; but with a wide and material difference from the case of general C. They were engaged in the most offensive and declared opposition against the court, and yet their dismissal was discussed in parliament, and followed by a memorable protest, signed by several great lords now living." Whether the step was constitutional,

or not, is another question; but it certainly bore no resemblance to the case of Mr. C. who was in no opposition." An. 1764.

These facts, on which this reasoning was founded, were strongly opposed by the administration, who pretended that the general had been personally obnoxious to the government, by exceeding the bounds even of his parliamentary capacity in opposing his majesty's measures, and that he had officiously interfered in the case of general warrants. The dispute is delicate, supposing what never can be admitted, that a member of parliament can be independent as an officer of the army. The general and his friends very properly insisted upon his being as independent as any other gentleman in the House of Commons, and that he ought to be as free in giving his vote. His majesty's ministers were far from disputing that principle; but they pretended that the king ought to have an equal freedom in employing whom he pleased in the departments that were in his disposal. Thus the question was balanced, but with this advantage on the side of the crown, that the heat of the party, for which the general was an advocate, was now increased, so as to threaten a civil commotion, in which case the assistance of the military must be called in. The result is, that every military gentleman, however independent his seat in parliament may be, must consider himself as dependent upon the crown, for holding his preferments in the army.

An affair of but little consequence to the public at this time engrossed its attention to a degree

An. 1764. hardly credible. A person who called himself the Chevalier D'Eon, and pretending to be of a noble family in France, had served with applause in the French army, and obtained the rank of captain of dragoons in that service. He had been employed as secretary to a French embassy in Russia, and acquitted himself so ably, that he was taken into the service of the duke de Belleisle and the cardinal de Bernis, by whose interest he was made secretary to the marquis D'Hospital, lately appointed ambassador to Russia. In this second secretaryship, he behaved so well that the duke de Choiseul procured him a pension of two thousand livres a year from the French king; and when the duke de Nivernois was nominated ambassador to the court of Great Britain, he appointed this chevalier to be his secretary. The duke mentioned him in such favourable terms to his Britannic majesty, that he was employed to carry the ratifications of the definitive treaty to France; and when the duke de Nivernois left the court of Great Britain, he remained at London with the character, first of minister, then of minister plenipotentiary, for the affairs of France.

who is
discharg-
ed from
appear-
ing at the
British
court.

The count de Guerchy being appointed to succeed the duke de Nivernois as ambassador extraordinary to the court of England, the chevalier's functions, as minister plenipotentiary, ceased of course; and he was ordered to resume the function of secretary, but occasionally he had a chance of acting as minister plenipotentiary when the ambassador returned to France. He disdained this degradation; and tho' he received from the duke
de

de Praslin, not only his letters of revocation, but an express order to repair to Paris, he refused to present the former to his Britannic majesty, who, on a complaint being made by the French court, prohibited, by an article in the London Gazette, his appearing at court. The chevalier's resentment broke forth in the most extraordinary publication which ever appeared, that of all the secrets, both personal and political, concerning the negotiation between the courts of England and France; and this was done with so little reserve, that he hurt his friends as well as his enemies. It must be owned, that the chevalier, by this publication, exhibited both the court and finances of France in a most despicable light; and his undoubtedly contributed to the resentment of that court. The count de Guerchy had strong reasons, which we shall not here particularize, for prosecuting the chevalier with severity, and he brought against him an information in the court of King's Bench for a libel. The chevalier at first thought himself protected by his character, but he soon found that the laws of England were superior even to the king. He wrote and printed letters to the lord chief justice Mansfield, the earl of Bute, earl Temple, and Mr. Pitt, weakly imagining that he might thereby unite both to the court and opposition in his favour. Finding all his efforts for that purpose ineffectual, he endeavoured to interest the public in his quarrel by the following alarming declaration, which he published: "I am, says he, assured, from undoubted authority, that my enemies have resolved to carry me off by force or strata-

An. 1764.

Account
of his let-
ters.

An. 1764. stratagem. London, at this instant, swarms with officers and spies from the police of Paris, with a captain at their head; they keep about between the bridges of London and Westminster, in which, should they unhappily seize my person, they mean to transport me to Gravesend, where a small armed vessel is held in readiness to sail with me to France, the instant I am conveyed on board."

It must be acknowledged that the chevalier could not have fallen upon a more effectual method for prepossessing the public of England in his favour, than by the above pretext; but to add commiseration to resentment in his letter addressed to lord Mansfield, he had the following expressions: "I carefully avoid every one the least infringement of the laws; if the laws then were to appear armed against my liberty, ought not I to suppose it a pretence used by my enemies to get me in their power; and in this case, does not the laws authorise me to repel force by force; and should the most fatal accidents result from such a step, were these laws to condemn me, which I cannot conceive, the spirit of those laws must feel the stroke." The voice of the public certainly befriended the chevalier, till it was discovered that his apprehensions were entirely without foundation; and being found guilty of a libel against the count de Guerchy, he was forced to abscond. This drew upon him many legal censures, and the public were for some time amazed at a pompous account published in the news papers, of a private house in Scotland-Yard having been broken open by six persons to find him; but this was soon discovered

covered to be only in course of the legal process awarded against him for not surrendering himself to the court where he was found guilty; and the chevalier was afterwards outlawed. An. 1764.

The death of Mr. Legge about this time raised the expectations of the public to an inconceivable degree. He had informed his friends, that he was possessed of papers, that would set the late minister, the earl of B. and his arbitrary principles, in the most odious light; and he had even the weakness to exact from a person he had no great knowledge of, but who attended him in his dying hours, a promise that those papers should be published after his death. The report of this spread abroad, the expectations of the publick were raised, and even an impeachment was talked of against the accused nobleman. The papers were published with a most exaggerated character of Mr. Legge, extolling him as the greatest minister, the finest gentleman, and one of the best men that this country or age had produced. The whole of this formidable charge proved to be a desire which his present m——, very possibly by lord B's influence, had, that Sir Simeon Stuart should be chosen to represent the county of Southampton, for which Mr. Legge had declared himself a candidate. An invasion at that time was threatened from France, and as that county may be considered as a maritime province of England, lord B. thought it neither decent nor proper, that it should be involved or divided in a parliamentary bustle at so critical a juncture; and he therefore prevailed with Mr. Legge's antagonist to drop his pretensions. Account of Mr. Legge's papers.

An. 1764. sions. Mr. Legge had notice of this from Mr. Martin, then secretary of the Treasury, at lord B's request; but he treated it as an idle compliment, because his interest in the county was vastly superior to that of his rival, who was then only Mr. Stuart. In the year 1759, when the general election took place, the prince of Wales sent Mr. Legge a message, expressing his desire that he would drop all thoughts of standing for that county, and support the nomination of his royal highness in favour of the marquis of Carnarvon and Mr. Stuart. Mr. Legge pretended that he was too far engaged with the gentlemen of the county to retract, and declared his intentions to stand, which Mr. Martin, by lord B.'s desire, begged him to consider of before he went too far in opposing the inclinations of his royal highness.

and his
difference
with lord
B.

This intimation galled Mr. Legge so much, that from thenceforth he considered lord B. as the pernicious adviser of the prince of Wales; and on the death of his late majesty he lost his employment as chancellor of the Exchequer. Having thus given a faithful account from the papers themselves of this long expected charge, the reader can scarcely expect that we should dwell upon its futility, or take great pains to prove that it blasted the hopes of the party when it appeared in public. It was known that lord B. even after the general election, had done services to Mr. Legge, and had interested himself in making up differences between him and other considerable personages in the ministry, who began to think him not to be of that importance which he assumed.

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An affair of much greater consequence to the nation than debates among statesmen at this time engaged the public attention, and this regarded the discovery of the longitude, which the parliament of England had long and generously patronized. In December 1763, Mr. John Harrison, who had for several years applied himself to that momentous study, had completed what he called a Time-keeper, and he wrote a circular invitation to twelve noblemen and gentlemen, of indisputable integrity and abilities, to meet daily at his house to examine the exactitude of this time-keeper, as it was soon to be sent to America for trial of the longitude. They accordingly agreed to compare it every day with a regulator, fixed in the same house, which, for thirty years together, had seldom been known to vary from the rate of mean solar time more than about one second in a month; and that the going of the said regulator itself should likewise be ascertained by means of an accurate instrument, also in the house, for observing the sun's transit over the meridian, as often as the weather would permit. After each comparison, both the time-keeper and regulator were sealed up by the company, and the result was, that upon the last comparison, the time-keeper was found in eight days to have gained upon the regulator, nine seconds and six-tenths of a second. To rectify those small inequalities arising from the various temperature of the air, Mr. Harrison took his time-keeper asunder, but, before he could execute his purpose, the Tartar man of war was ordered to take his son with it on board, that he might proceed to Barbadoes upon the
ulti-

An. 1764.

Progress
of the dis-
covery of
the longi-
tude.

An. 1764. ultimate trial for the longitude, which the son, Mr. William Harrifon, accordingly did, after he had compared the time-keeper with a noted regulator. The ship failed from Spithead, March the 28th, and met with very rough weather, especially in the Bay of Biscay, but arrived at Barbadoes on the 13th of May following. Mr. Harrifon, during the course of the voyage, declared to a most surprizing degree of certainty, how far the ship was from that island. Mr. Harrifon, on the 4th of June, set out in another ship from Barbadoes; and, on his return, was equally exact in his calculations, as appeared by proper certificates. Upon his arrival in England a board of longitude was held, and the commissioners were so well satisfied with Mr. Harrifon's discovery, that they gave him an immediate order to be paid one thousand pounds. But how far the commissioners may think him entitled to the whole of the premium, without any farther trial and discovery, is yet unknown.

Account
of the so-
ciety for
encou-
raging
arts, ma-
nufac-
tures, and
com-
merce.

The spirit of national improvement was not confined to the parliament or public bodies, for the patriotic society for encouragement of arts and manufactures exerted themselves in a most amazing manner during the course of this year. From the first time of its institution in the year 1755 the members had expended near twenty thousand pounds premiums, for the advancement of the arts and useful discoveries. The supplying London with fish at a small expence had been for some years one of their main objects, and they had so good opinion of the capacity and integrity of Mr. Blake, one of their members, for managing that impor-

tant

tant matter, that they lodged two thousand pounds in hand, to be by him discretionally employed in compleating his scheme, and lent him besides, upon his own security, one thousand five hundred pounds; while the parliament advanced him two thousand five hundred pounds more on the same account. His scheme was, for some time, carried with great vigour into execution, by constructing machines for bringing fish to the London markets by land-carriage; a method which, tho' very expensive, answered so well at first, that in February the society almost unanimously released him from his obligation, for repaying one thousand five hundred pounds that had been advanced him. He was not equally fortunate in his prosecution of this laudable project, occasioned, as was alledged by the combinations of the fish-mongers, who underfold him; but the experiments he made were undoubtedly of infinite service to the public, and proved how practicable it is to supply the citizens of London with fish, at easier rates than they have heretofore been accustomed to pay. The same patriot spirit discovered itself in all other proceedings of the society, tho' destitute of any legal constitution. Upon the death of lord Folkestone, lord Romney was elected its president; and the number of subscribing members, (each paying at least two guineas a year) in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, exceeded two thousand five hundred. The generous provision made by the annual contributions, left no part of their plan unprovided for; and their improvements extended to almost every branch of arts, manufactures, and

1765. above all, agriculture; a particular attention being had to the British American colonies.

Sculpture, painting, engraving, and modelling, were rewarded according to their different degrees of excellency, with premiums, some of which amounted to one hundred guineas; but, notwithstanding this noble munificence, experience seems to testify, that history-painting is as yet only in its infancy in Great Britain. The improvements, on the other hand, which had been made through the cares of this society in the useful arts of life, are almost incredible, and nothing but dissensions among the members themselves, can prevent its being attended with the most salutary national effects. A like spirit of beneficence and liberality prevailed in a number of other public institutions. Hospitals with large endowments were reared in many parts of the capital of the kingdom; receptacles for orphans were erected, and even female prostitution was rescued from temptation, and the unhappy necessity of continuing in the paths of infamy, by a decent provision for the unfortunate women who rendered themselves, by their penitence, objects of commiseration. No fewer than five hundred and eighty three persons were taken into this charity, from its first opening on the 10th of August 1758, to the 22d of March 1764; and next month upwards of one thousand two hundred pounds was collected at the anniversary meeting of the benefactors.

Notwithstanding those public spirited efforts, many British labourers complained of pressures, and that not without reason. Many thousand journey-

journeyman silk-weavers residing in Spitalfields repaired to his majesty's palace, where they presented a petition representing the miserable condition themselves and their families were reduced to by the clandestine importation of French silks. The petitioners were considerable, not only by their numbers but their utility; and his majesty, with the greatest affability and condescension, gave them for answer, that an affair of such consequence to the kingdom should be properly laid before the parliament, and that they might depend on his care and protection. About the same time a number of French patterns for silks were said to be handed about by the French emissaries to the London mercers; and it was given out, that the latter were supplied with any pattern and to any quantity of silk manufactured in France. It does not appear that those reports had really any other foundation, than that of exciting the charity of the public, which flowed in for the relief of the sufferers in plentiful streams, and was distributed to them with the utmost justice and impartiality. It was thought, with great justice, by many of the most judicious citizens, that those distributions, however well meant, were far from answering the purposes of the charity, as it rather encouraged idleness than promoted industry; and that the money might have been far better employed, if it had been bestowed in purchasing materials for giving work to those who were really disposed to earn their livelihood in their calling. It was alledged, that a few experiments of this kind would excite in the public that noble spirit of well judged charity, which con-

An. 1765.

Distresses
of the
Spital-
fields
weavers.

Case of
the Spi-
talfields
weavers.

An.1765. sists in giving employment to industry rather than relief to idleness; and the space of a few weeks confirmed the truth of those observations. The money, during that time, was spent, and far from relieving the sufferers, it served only to confirm them in their habits of indolence. The news-papers of every week were filled with accounts of their distresses and of their tumultuous applications for relief, which was impossible at that time to be given them, but from private persons, whose charity began now to be exhausted, in proportion as the clamour encreased.

History of
the rise,

About the 14th of May the meetings of those journeymen weavers, on account of a bill, which they thought tended to their relief, being thrown out of the house of peers, began to be more numerous than was consistent with the peace of civil government, and their resentment was particularly pointed at the duke of B. who, as they had been informed, was a principal opposer of the bill. A number of those insurgents were so ill advised as to assemble together; and, being accompanied with their wives and children, and preceded by a black flag as an emblem of their distressed circumstances, went up to St. James's to represent once more to his majesty, the hardships they suffered for want of work on occasion of the importation of French and other silks. Though both the king and the queen had gone to Richmond before they arrived at St. James's, yet so earnest were they in their solicitation, that they even followed their majesties to those retreats which ought to be sacred from intrusion and importunity; and finding means

to introduce their grievances to the royal ear, a lord in waiting from his majesty informed them, in his name, that he would do whatever lay in his power for their relief. An. 1769.

The appearance of this numerous body was so formidable to the peace of the city of London, that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen ordered the beadle of the several wards to give notice to the constables in every parish, to repair immediately to their respective watch-houses, with assistance, and there to remain till farther orders, to prevent any riots that might happen. Though the king had by this time passed a bill for laying several additional duties on the importation of wrought silks and velvets, and to encourage the silk manufacture of this kingdom, and to prevent any combinations of workmen; yet this was far from pacifying the insurgents. On the 16th of May another great body went to St. James's, where they repeated their former requests, and receiving a favourable answer, they retired to the Green-Park, where they drew round a person, one Jones, who, if not their leader, had obtained their trust and confidence, and on him they seemed to depend for advice. As their numbers now, upon the whole, were said to amount to above fifteen thousand, the moderation of Jones was very exemplary. He advised them to disperse, and dutifully to wait the result of what his majesty and the parliament intended in their favour; with which they seemed to be satisfied. It soon appeared that a number of necessitous and riotous people, who were no weavers, but pretended to be such, had mingled in the mob. progress,

Ap. 1765. an instance of so numerous a body of people, who were really distressed in their circumstances and pressed with hunger, behaving with so great a deference and resignation to the will of their superiors, as those poor people did. Several of the nobility and other persons of distinction, as they passed along, heard their complaints, and testified their compassion for their sufferings, with which they seemed to be satisfied, till such of their number as really had bad designs, found means to inflame them against the noble duke above-mentioned; then, instead of returning to their respective habitations, they assembled in Bloomsbury-square, where the decency they had hitherto observed forsook them, and they behaved in a most riotous and audacious manner. On the 17th of the same month, their numbers, by the public papers, were supposed to be fifty thousand; and after being mustered, and receiving their orders from officers of their own choosing, they proceeded to Westminster in three bodies. One went over London-bridge to Westminster by St. George's-fields; another by Holborn and Covent-garden, and the third along Ludgate-hill and the Strand. When the junction of those three bodies was formed in Old and New Palace-yard and the neighbourhood, the avenues to both houses of parliament were so crowded, that it was with the utmost difficulty the members could pass to their respective assemblies. Nothing was wanting that could inspire them with compassion for the petitioners, at they termed themselves. Flags of various colours, borne by women, composed of French manufactures, were displayed, and the mercers in

general

and sup-
 pression
 of their
 riots.

general were loaded with the most bitter reproaches for discouraging those of England. The men wore red cockades and shreds of silk in their hats, and they stopt the carriages of the members as they were endeavouring to pass along, praying them to take pity on the poor weavers; but they behaved in all other respects with the utmost regularity, and even checked such of their own number as seemed disposed to be riotous.

But though this alarming body of insurgents continued still to discover no disposition to insult government, yet, at the same time, their assembling, in the manner they did, required the strictest attention. The first troop of horse-guards, with a party of horse-grenadiers and three companies of the foot-guards, all under arms, and headed by their proper officers, were ordered from the parade to Old Palace-yard, where they were drawn up in two lines before Westminster-hall, to clear the passage for the members to get to the house. In the mean time, the justices of the peace for Westminster had attended at the New Guildhall; at which place there was also a conference between the chieftains of the weavers, to the number of about four hundred, their masters, and the mercers, when it was agreed by the latter immediately to recall all their contracts for foreign goods, and to set the journeymen instantly to work. This expedient in all probability would have quieted them, had not some of their false brethren suggested, while they were upon their return home, that they were insecure in their dependence upon promises; and that upon application they might be joined by

An. 1765. the watermen, a powerful body likewise. Upon which a body of them went to Bloomsbury-square, where they pulled down the stone posts and part of the wall before the duke of Bedford's house, with the rails in the road to Fig-lane, besides ploughing up the ground in the middle of the square, and doing other damage. Those outrages being apprehended there, a party of the horse-guards were added to the foot, which had been placed there the night before: but the mob were so unruly, that they tore up the pavement to supply them with stones to pelt the guards; in consequence of which, much mischief was done, many of the soldiery were cut and wounded, and several of the people trampled down by the horses. These outrages continued a great part of the night.

Great vigilance of the magistrates.

The weavers now deserved the name of rioters, especially as another body of them proceeded to the house of an eminent mercer on Ludgate-hill, where they demolished the windows, broke the lamps at the door, and did other mischief. In consequence of this outrage, between seven and eight o'clock, the lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs, recorder, city-marshal, and sword-bearer, with a number of peace-officers, repaired to the spot; but his lordship was obliged to leave his coach in St. Paul's Church-yard, from whence he proceeded on foot to the above-mentioned mercer's shop, where the recorder told the populace, that unless they dispersed, the riot-act should be read. The lord-mayor being still unable to pass with his state-coach, remained in the neighbourhood to give occasional orders; and a strong party of horse,

and

and another of foot being sent for, the night passed without any farther disorder. A court of aldermen had previously met the evening before, to consult on proper methods for preventing the ill consequences that might arise from so large a body of people daily assembling; a party of the guards from the Tower did duty all Thursday night in Moorfields; another party had been sent for the same night to Spital-fields, on account of the mob breaking the windows there of some master weavers, who were reported to have had French silks in their houses, particularly of one in Prince's-street, whose windows were entirely demolished from the top to the bottom.

After this Moorfields continued to be occupied by a strong party of the guards, attended by a great number of constables, headboroughs, and other peace-officers, who marched thither from Hicks's-hall, and a proclamation was published for suppressing riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies, in pursuance of an address of the house of lords, and the insults offered to the duke of B. and his house. In a few days, by the management of the magistrates, co-operating with the assurances of the master weavers, tranquility was restored. One house of the legislature, however, did not think that sufficient satisfaction had been made for the insults which had been done to their members and to government in general; and certain censures were imposed for the too great lenity that had been used in suppressing such daring insults.

Censure
upon cer-
tain per-
sons.

During

An. 1765.

State of
parties.

During the above insurrection an uncommon ferment prevailed at court, which the necessity of appearing to act with unanimity had long stifled. Those who formed the minority in parliament, had originally accused the acting ministers of being no better than substitutes to the earl of B. They endeavoured to wipe off the aspersions, by assuming every mark of independency upon his lordship, who seemed to have entirely resigned himself to the duties of a private life, and to be quite unconnected with public business. This inoffensive conduct, however, was far from protecting his character from the shafts of envy and malevolence, and every day produced from the press fresh informations to the public, that he still had underhand the direction of all the great movements of state, but without any particular instance of his influence being specified, otherwise than by surmise and suspicion. An alarming consideration cleared up the gloom that was the necessary consequence of that want of confidence, which was visible through many of the departments of publick business. Towards the spring of the year his majesty was attacked with an illness, which tho' not dangerous, filled the public with prodigious apprehensions, which perhaps were encreased by the very means made use of to save appearances; as nothing of certainty could be gathered from the public papers, but that the state of his health was precarious. Upon his recovery on the 22d of April he went in state to the House of Peers, where, after giving his assent to the bills that were ready, he made a speech to both houses of parliament, in which he told them, that

Speech of
the king
concern-
ing a re-
gency.

that the tender concern he felt for his faithful subjects, made him anxious to provide for every possible event, which might affect their happiness and security. That his late indisposition, though not attended with danger, had led him to consider the situation in which his kingdoms and his family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to his life whilst his successor was of tender years. That the high importance of this subject to the public safety, good order, and tranquility; the paternal affection which he bore to his children and to all his people, and his earnest desire, that every precaution should be taken, which might tend to preserve the constitution of Great Britain undisturbed, and the dignity of its crown unimpaired, had determined him to lay this weighty business before his parliament; and as his health, by the blessing of God, was now restored, he took the earliest opportunity of meeting them, and recommending to their most serious deliberation, the making such provision as would be necessary, in case any of his children should succeed to his throne before they should respectively attain the age of eighteen years. That to this end he proposed to their consideration, whether under the present circumstances, it would not be expedient to vest in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instrument in writing, under his sign manual, either the queen, or any other person of his royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor shall attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the like
restric-

An.1765.

An. 1765 restrictions and regulations, as are specified and contained in an act, passed upon a similar occasion in the 24th year of the reign of the late king, his royal grand-father. The regent so appointed to be assisted by a council composed of the several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, are constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom they may think proper to leave to his nomination.

The bill
passes.

In consequence of this speech, a bill was brought into the House of Lords and sent down to the Commons, from whence, after admitting of many long debates, it was returned to their lordships with remarkable alterations; for it is enacted, that power be vested in his majesty of appointing, from time to time, by three instruments under his sign manual, a guardian to his successor, in case the crown should descend to any of his children being under the age of eighteen years. Such guardian is to have the care and management of the tuition of the person of such minor, and to execute the office of regent of the kingdom; and to be either the queen or the princess dowager of Wales, or one of the descendants of the late king, usually residing in Great Britain.

The insertion of the name of the princess dowager of Wales in this regency bill, as it was called, was particularly agreeable to the public, which, upon this occasion, discovered the most grateful sense of the high obligations the nation was under to her royal highness.

The council of regency for assisting the regent, is to consist of their royal highness Edward-Augustus,

gustus, duke of York and Albany, William-Henry, duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, prince Henry-Frederick, and prince Frederick-William; and his royal highness his majesty's uncle, William-Augustus, duke of Cumberland; (the said prince Henry-Frederic and prince Frederic-William, to be members of the said council of regency, when they shall respectively attain the age of twenty-one years, and not sooner) and also of the persons and officers following, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being; the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, or the first commissioner named in any commission for the custody of the great seal of Great Britain for the time being; the lord treasurer of Great Britain, or the first commissioner in that office for the time being; the lord president of the council for the time being; the lord privy-seal for the time being; the lord high-admiral of Great Britain, or the first commissioner for executing that office; the two principal secretaries of state for the time being; and the lord chief justice of the court of King's bench, or Queen's-bench for the time being. But if any of the king's brother's or his uncle shall die, during his majesty's reign, or shall be nominated regent on his demise, his majesty, by three instruments, under his sign manual, sealed and deposited as aforesaid, and revocable at pleasure, may appoint some other person to be of the council; and such instruments of nomination are to be produced unopened to the privy-council.

An. 1765.

Members
of the
council of
regency.

Members, who are appointed of the council, in virtue of their dignity and office, are to be no longer of
the

An. 1765. the council than they continue in such dignity or office. Great officers of state appointed of the council, are to continue in their offices in case of the descent of the crown during such minority, for six months after, unless removed by consent of the majority of the council; or upon an address of both houses of parliament. The archbishop of Canterbury and lord chief justice of the King's bench, may be removed in like manner from the council; as also any other members who are not constituted such in virtue of their dignities or offices. Vacancies in the council, by removal, death, or resignation, or by succeeding to the office of regent, or by death of the king's younger brothers, being under age, are to be filled up within two months by the regent and council. Nothing herein contained shall take away the right of the privy council; but the regent is empowered to summon and hold the same as usual; and members of the regency may be also of the privy council.

Case of a
minority.

Upon the descent of the crown to a minor, the parliament then in being is to continue for three years, unless such successor shall be sooner of age, or such parliament be dissolved by the regent with consent of the council; but if there shall be no parliament then in being, which shall have met and sat, the preceding parliament is to convene and sit for three years. In cases of an equality of voices in the council, the regent is to decide. Where the consent of a majority, or one half part of the council, is made necessary to the validity of any act, the members consenting thereto, are to sign the same in the council-books. The clerk

clerk of the council is to be appointed by the re-
gent, and take an oath of office. All commissions,
letters patent, orders, &c. to set aside, or change
the orders of government settled by this act, dur-
ing the minority of the successor, are declared
void; and the persons concerned therein incur pe-
nalties of premunire, inflicted by the statute of pre-
munire.

An. 1765:

Such is the substance of this important act, the
account of which we have anticipated a few
months, on account of the great consequences
with which it was attended; for the moment they
passed, the public report was, that the ministry
was unhinged. It is certain that some changes
took place, but upon what principles they were
effected, or what farther alterations may be still
necessary for establishing the fabric of government
upon a solid and a permanent plan, is yet unknown.

Conclu-
sion.

We have, according to the best of our abilities,
exhibited in this Continuation a faithful history of
the reign of George the Third to the beginning of
the year 1765, and after the most attentive re-
view, we can find no reason for altering the repre-
sentation of any fact we have published. It never
has been disputed, that at the time of his present
majesty's accession to the throne, this kingdom was
unable to support either with men or money the
continuance of the war, however flattering the pros-
pect of its success might be. The countries in
which it must have been carried on, are the most
fatal to British constitutions of any in the globe;
and an immediate supply of above forty thousand
men, for sea and land forces, was required, at a
time

July 1,
1765.

An. 1764 time when the country was exhausted of inhabitants, its fields uncultivated, its manufactures at a stand; and when it was found absolutely impracticable to raise five thousand recruits more for fleet or army. The national debt was swelled to the incredible sum of almost a hundred and thirty million; and twenty millions more, with a most precarious prospect of success, must have been the expence of another campaign. Thus every year would have swelled a debt, which the most sanguine expectation could not have found the means of discharging, even by the most glorious conquests.

We have, we hope, with candour, stated the history of the cyder act, which was necessary for paying off part of that great sum, and given such an account of the case of general warrants, which is one of the great charges against his majesty's government, as we flatter ourselves is not to be converted by the most virulent enemy of the administration. With regard to foreign affairs, all the allegations brought against the management of them, are comprehended under the head of the undischarged Canada bills and the Manilla ransom, both which articles are yet unadjusted. In all other respects, the two great powers with whom we were at war, have fulfilled the articles of the general peace with a good faith and punctuality, of which we have few or no examples in English history.

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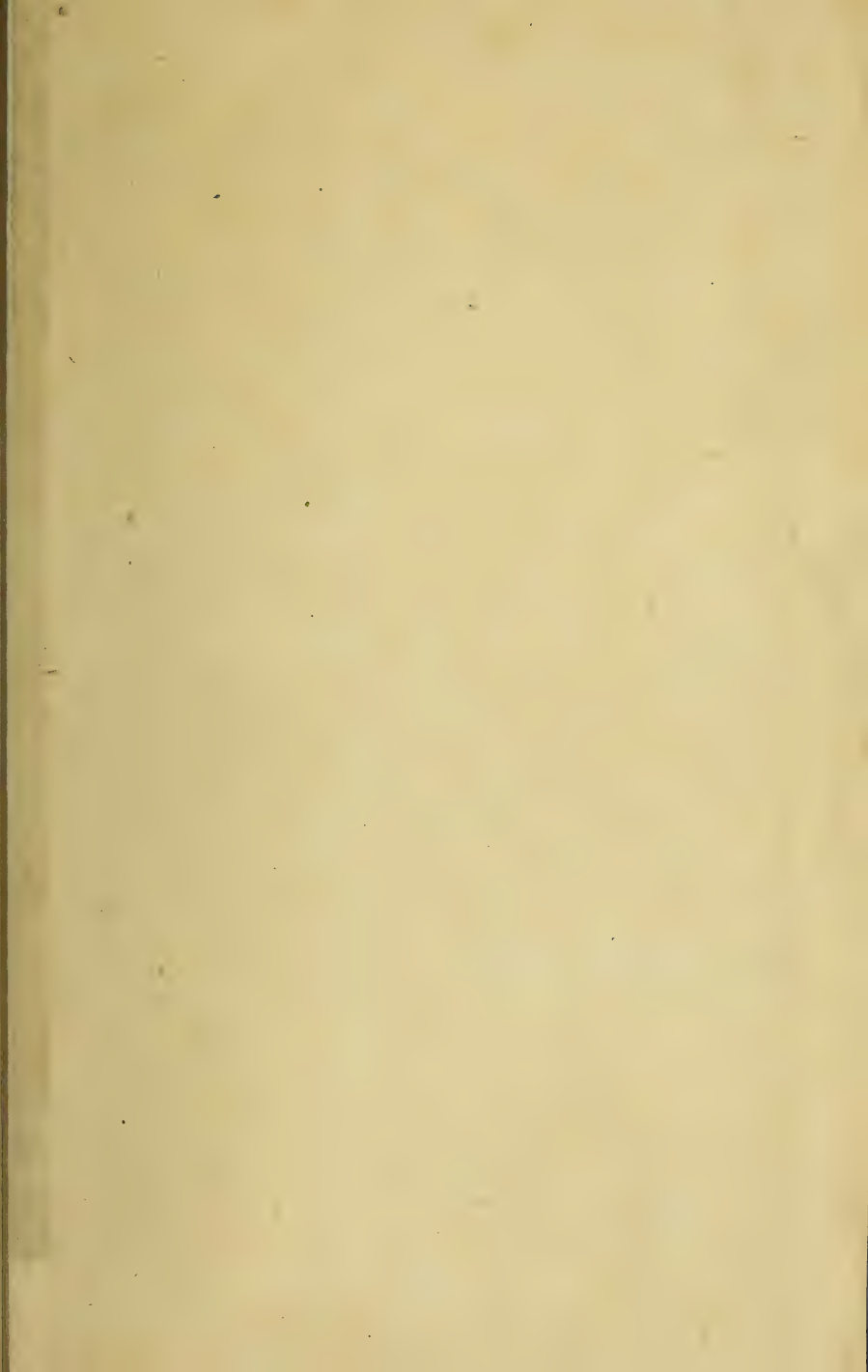
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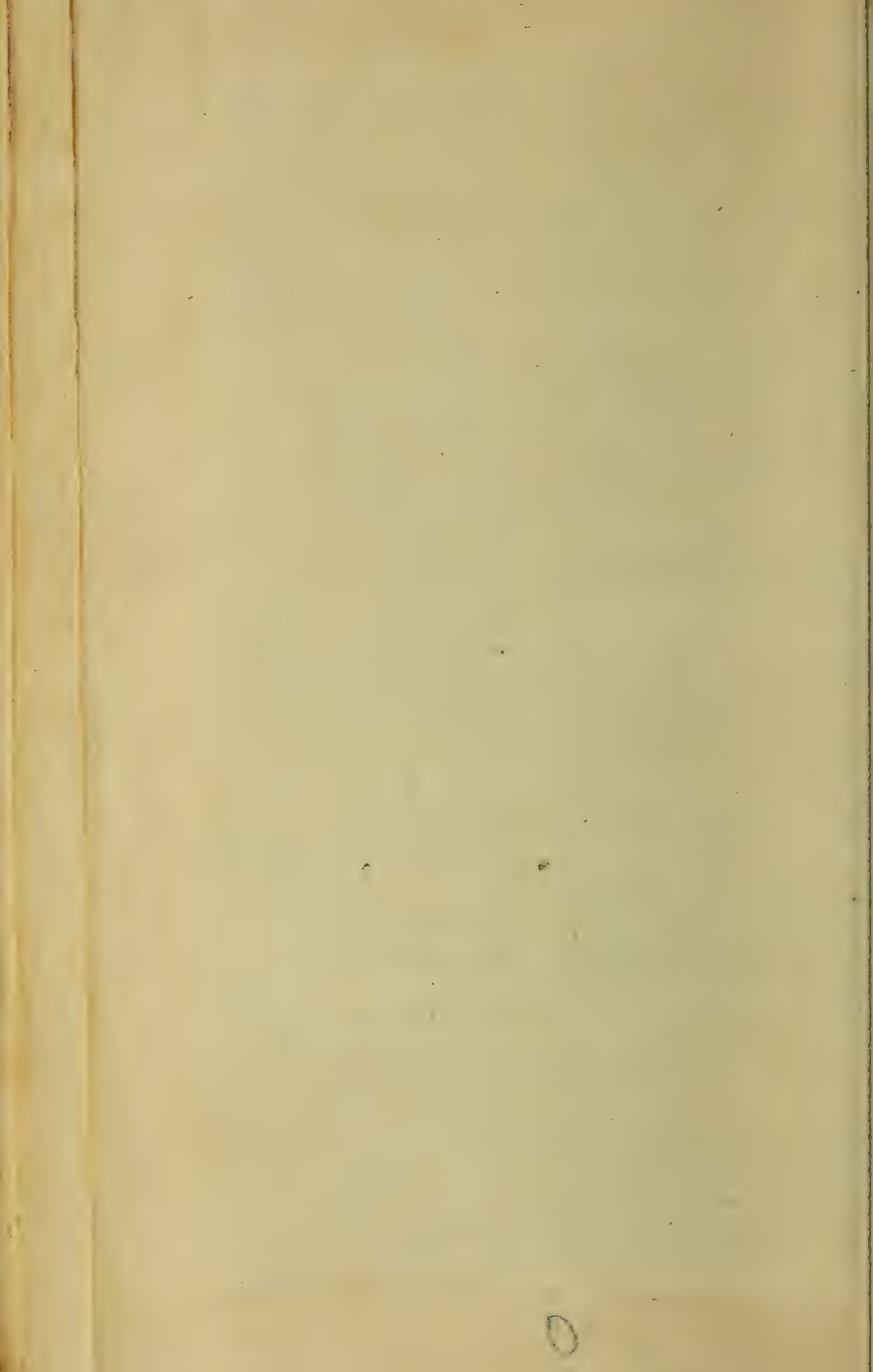
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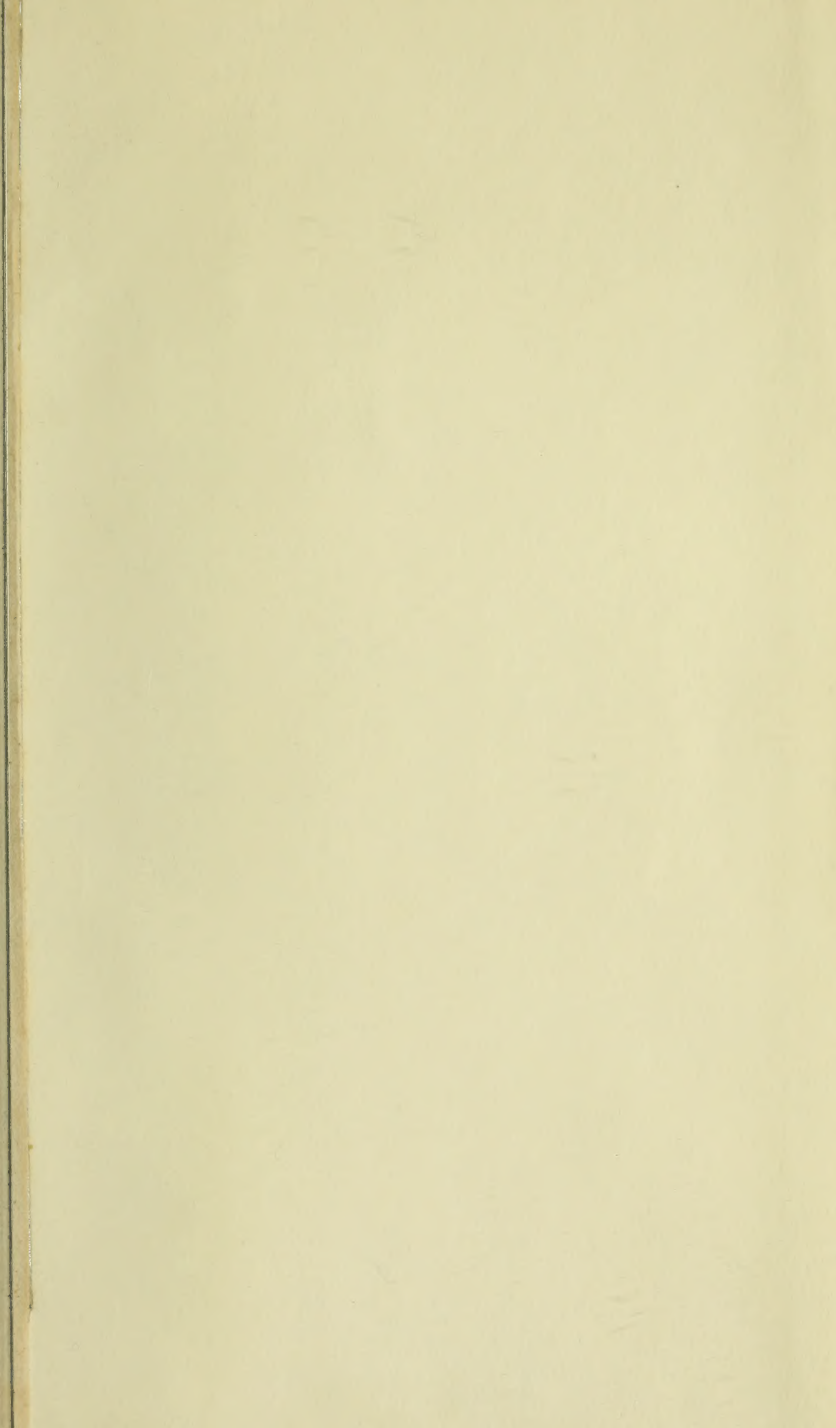
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